A Look at John Mitchell *John Osborne*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Where Do We Go from Here?

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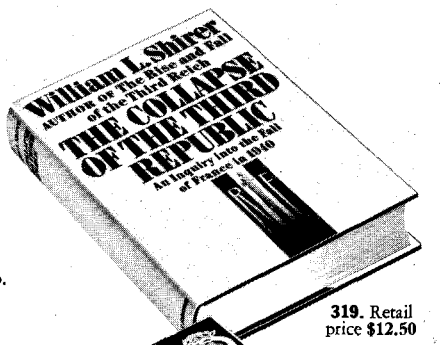
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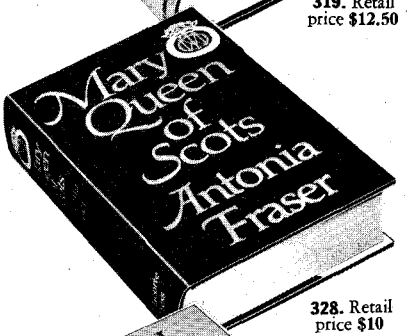

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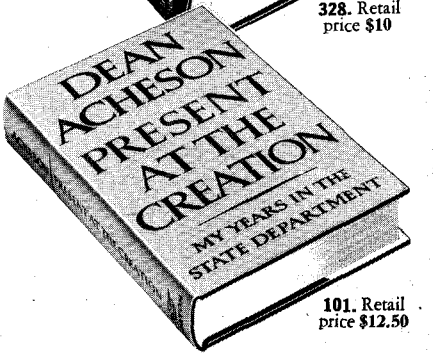

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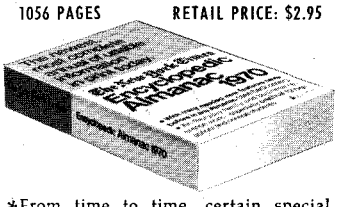

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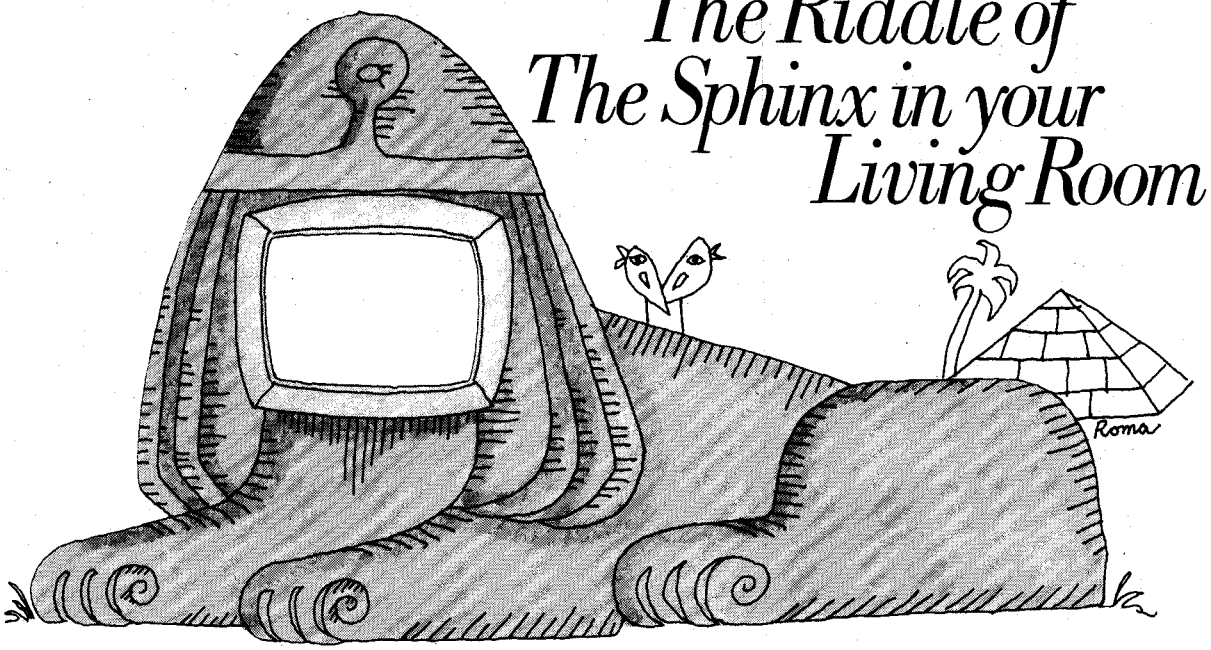

I sit quietly until you are ready for me, but when you need me most, I am prepared.
I soothe your weariness. I exercise your emotions when you languish.
I keep you aware of people, and the people behind the people, so that you can make up your own mind.
Within me are all possibilities.
I am your jester, your advisor and your catalogue.
Like Puck, I race world-round to bring you news.
I am many answers to the question, "What's happening?"
I am a corner of your life.
If I were kept silent, you could be in the dark.
Who am I? An oracle? A chameleon? A kaleidoscope?

In February 1970, these are some of the things I am:

Discovery. Anacostia Neighborhood Museum; The Changing Face of the Desert; Nature's Strangest Monuments; School for Snowfighters. Sundays, Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22 (11:30-12 Noon).

Directions. Easter Island: The Puzzle of the Pacific; The Meal; Flatboatman; El Greco. Sundays, Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22 (1-1:30 pm).

Tell It Like It Is. Folk musical with Kurt Kaiser Singers and Gilbert Price. Sunday, Feb. 1 (4-5 pm).

The Last of the Westerners. A look at frontier life through the eyes of the people who lived it. Wednesday, Feb. 4 (8:30-9 pm).

A Storm in Summer. Hallmark Hall of Fame—Rod Serling drama of relationship between a shopkeeper and a Harlem boy. Starring Peter Ustinov, Marlyn Mason, N'Gai Dixon. Friday, Feb. 6 (8:30-10 pm).

LBJ: The Decision to Halt the Bombing. Second of series exploring Lyndon Johnson's career. Friday, Feb. 6 (10-11 pm).

Return of the Sea Elephants. Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau examines unique lifestyle of shy sea mammals. Sunday, Feb. 8 (7-8 pm).

Wild River. National Geographic Society explores Salmon River in Idaho. Tuesday, Feb. 10 (7:30-8:30 pm).

The Day Before Sunday. CBS Playhouse—Uta Hagen, Martin Balsam, Farley Granger, Cloris Leachman in drama about emotional awakening of a 40-plus bachelor girl. Tuesday, Feb. 10 (9:30-11 pm).

Survival on the Prairie. The rolling, open plains in Middle America are explored. Hugh Downs, host. Friday, Feb. 13 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Dream on Monkey Mountain. NBC Experiment in Television—Old man in Trinidad fantasizes about becoming an African chief. Sunday, Feb. 15 (5-6 pm).

He's Your Dog, Charlie Brown. Spotlighting Snoopy with the "Peanuts" kids. Sunday, Feb. 15 (7:30-8 pm).

The Man Hunters. G-E Monogram Series—Search for clues to prehistoric man and implications his emergence may have for mankind's future. Tuesday, Feb. 17 (7:30-8:30 pm).

The Journey of Robert F. Kennedy. A biographical study of the late Senator, written by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and narrated by John Huston. Tuesday, Feb. 17 (8:30-10 pm).

Annie, The Women in the Life of a Man. Anne Bancroft acts and sings with guest stars Lee J. Cobb, Robert Merrill, Arthur Murray, Dick Smothers, David Susskind. Wednesday, Feb. 18 (9-10 pm).

Born Free. Film based on best-seller about lion cub raised in human environment. Starring Virginia McKenna, Bill Travers. Sunday, Feb. 22 (7-9 pm).

The Boston Spy Party. American Rainbow—Fact-based story of actors who spied to help George Washington. Saturday, Feb. 28 (12 Noon-1 pm).

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday through Friday: Sunrise Semester/The Today Show/Captain Kangaroo

Tuesday: First Tuesday (appearing first Tuesday each month)/CBS News Hour

Saturday: The Banana Splits Adventure Hour/Jambo/ABC's Wide World of Sports

Sunday: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up And Live/Camera Three/Bullwinkle/Discovery/Frontiers of Faith/Face the Nation/Meet the Press/Directions/Issues and Answers/G-E College Bowl/Wild Kingdom/The Wonderful World of Disney

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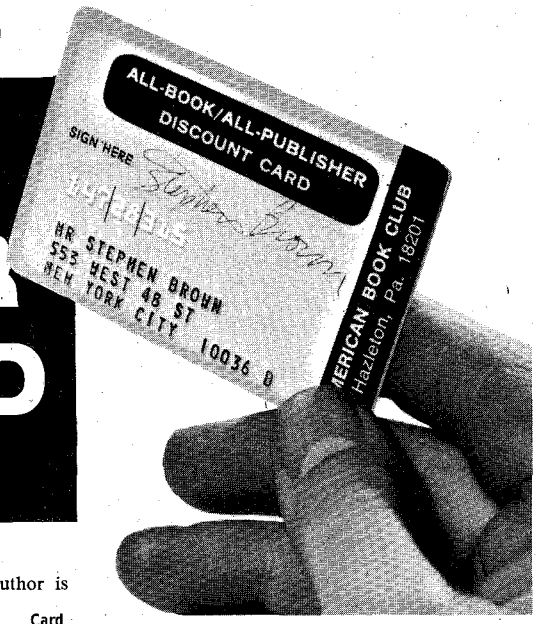

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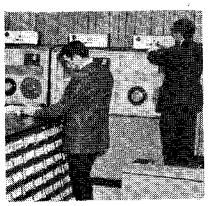

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from Washington

Is Nixon Smart?

Sometimes we have our doubts about Richard Nixon. The suspicion keeps intruding that maybe he isn't the best politician in America, as he is supposed to be. But is it really judicious to alienate 10 million black voters? Is the Southern strategy shrewd in the long run? Did he have to sit in the White House watching that TV football game last November when over a quarter million good-natured youngsters paraded for peace outside? And how about his Attorney General petulantly dismissing the eager young reformers of the Republican Ripon Society as "little juvenile delinquents"? (They had had the audacity to criticize him.) Probably we are the one who isn't smart but, sometimes, we wonder.

Now, the same question recurs in that dour subject, economics. There's the budget, and the economic report, and the veto of the bill for the kids' schools – because it would be inflationary. The President seems to be preparing for the midterm election: the Democratic Congress, he says, is responsible for inflation. And again we wonder how bright this is.

Mr. Nixon has held office a year and the cost of living is going up faster now than when he started. Let me say quickly that this isn't all his fault. He inherited inflation and has applied all the orthodox rules of the book – tightening credit, trimming expenses, and the rest of it. They are rough remedies and if they don't kill us they will probably cure us. But Mr. Nixon has had a style of his own.

In the first place he vastly underestimated the seriousness of the crisis. Then he came to office pledged to get rid of the 10 percent surtax, and although he modified this, it was about the worst possible time to cut taxes. In the third place he rejected jawboning and arm-twisting (directed to limiting specific prices and wage increases) which, we think, is a serious abdication of Presidential responsibility. And finally, he has twice told the nation on prime television time that we have inflation because the nation in the 1960s didn't balance its budget the way "American families" balance their budgets. This is a dangerous oversimplification rejected by the great mass of economic thought. It is more politics than economics.

Last summer, US Steel announced that it was raising prices across the board an average of 4.8 percent, and you could have heard a pin drop in big companies' offices right across America. They all turned to look at the White House. Nothing happened.

Mr. Nixon let it be known that there wasn't going to be any moral pressure (jawboning) against steel price increases, not while he was President, and big business got the signal that the lid was off, the sky was the limit.

You don't have to take my word on this. Here's an article in the *Wall Street Journal*, January 7, quoting two prominent steel industry analysts; one says there's "no question" steel price boosts would have been "less steep" under jawboning; the other says "burial of the jawbone was 'a major factor' in the steel price moves of 1969."

It's too dull and detailed to go into at length, but the jump of metals and metal prices has been the sensation of 1969: lead *decreased* in 1968 but rose 23.1 percent in 1969. Nonferrous metals *decreased* 1.8 percent in 1968, skyrocketed 21.5 percent in 1969. Metals and all metal products in 1968 rose only 1.3 percent under the continuing watchful eye of LBJ; they increased 9.8 percent under the look-the-other-way benevolence of Mr. Nixon. Giant corporations dominate much of our economy and jawboning can be very potent.

In justice, Mr. Nixon is modifying his doctrinaire hands-off concept, and is beginning to intervene. But he is also giving a dangerously unrealistic explanation of inflation. It's all due to those Democratic deficits of the '60s, he says. Now this is pretty silly.

A deficit would be the worst possible medicine right now when inflation is booming; it would be like stepping on the gas while the car is rounding a curve. But there are times when a deficit is just what a nation needs. For example, the US is now edging toward a recession. Our growth rate has dropped to zero. Pretty soon, now, you are going to see unemployment start rising. (It probably has already, but it is concealed by people dropping out of the work force as jobs slacken.)

We bet there's not one of Mr. Nixon's three-man Council of Economic Advisers who wouldn't advocate a deficit in 1971 if this situation really got serious. Kennedy and Johnson undertook deficits like that in the early '60s. It is folly, it is demagoguery, for Mr. Nixon to lump all such deficits together and to imply that they necessarily cause inflation.

If a big corporation, like AT&T, balanced its budget after the fashion which Mr. Nixon prescribes for the "American family," it would go broke. AT&T goes into debt more and more – that's what keeps it going. It expands or quits. Its funded debt was a mere $4 billion in 1954; now it is over $13 billion. A corporation isn't a private family and the USA isn't one either. Of course that doesn't mean there's no prudent limit to the thing. With Vietnam, taxes should have been increased immediately but they weren't because Lyndon Johnson tried to pretend the war wouldn't cost anything. That's when inflation got out of hand.

Notes: America's guilt about inflation isn't shared by most nations; the US had the least inflation of 14 industrial countries (1958 to mid-1969), and even in the shorter period, 1965-to-mid-1969, it was behind eight others. . . . Judge Carswell is attacked as much for cipherism as racism. When asked by the Justice Department for a list of his legal articles he said that there were none; Sen. Proxmire likened his opinions to plumbers' manuals: short and mechanical. . . . On his European trip, Mr. Nixon liked the way palace guards were dressed and has put the White House police into dazzling operatic white tunics and West German vinyl kepis (caps) for formal occasions; only trouble is, strangers seem to think they will burst into song. . . . As prices keep rising corporation profits are at an all-time high (but declining); buying power of the average production worker, however, is less than four years ago. . . . And soon we shall have a trillion dollar economy; that's a near-metaphysical concept: a one followed by 12 (count 'em) zeros.

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Can't Afford What?

In the sixties, Congress was often censured for blocking social programs. Mr. Nixon has reversed the roles. Now it is Congress that proposes, though tardily, and the President quickly vetoes. And how he does it! While barring what he holds to be excessive spending on education, health and welfare, Mr. Nixon talks with Galbraithian grandeur about improving the quality of life. By that he does not mean the quality of our characters, but the quality of our environment – air, water, recreation areas, homes, schools, transportation and public services generally. How does he propose to improve it? Commenting on the State of the Union message, the Senate Majority Leader, Mr. Mansfield, said it sounded fine, but he'd wait and see what "specific substantive legislative proposals" the President puts forward; the proof of the laundry will be in the list.

One item on the President's list is doubled spending for crime-busting. That, presumably, is an investment (noninflationary) in quality – the quality of public safety. But are we quite sure that the violence shaking our society has its origins in limp law enforcement, that it will be curbed by more jails, tougher penalties, more police and fewer restraints on them? And how is the quality of life, or the dampening of inflation, to be advanced by an expanded anti-missile missile system, or extravagant investment in other untried superweapons? (The Secretary of Defense now wants underocean barges bristling with 5000-mile range missiles, each carrying several hydrogen bombs.) The President excused his veto last week of the Health, Education and Welfare Bill by accusing Congress of wanting to spend $1.1 billion more on schools than he thought this inflation-ridden nation could afford. But he did not say in his televised veto that he himself had asked for $5.6 billion more for weapons than Congress was willing to let him have. The public is barely aware of that fact. It does not know that the White House is more inflationary than Congress by $4.6 billion. By axing almost $6 billion out of Secretary Laird's and the Pentagon's demands, the legislators perhaps believed they had left themselves sufficient leeway to spend an added $1.3 billion on social programs, without adding to inflation. That seemed a reasonable presumption. In any case, the extra $1.3 billion would have bought something useful. The $5.6 billion demanded by the Department of Defense, in addition to being five times more inflation-

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ary, would have bought little worth having – more holes in the ground in Vietnam, perhaps.

Some items on the congressional shopping list are open to criticism, such as more federal money for rich school districts. Mr. Nixon did criticize, but cynically agreed to pay the price to have his veto upheld. His primary point after all was not that the money for schools could be better spent, better distributed than Congress proposed. He argued forcibly that the amount appropriated was "just too large." One only need ask teachers, students and parents in most school districts in the country whether or not that is so. When the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare reports there are eight million school children who can't even read properly, he's only telling part of the story of poor education. But that fact alone suggests the priority education ought to have over bloated military spending. It was an Illinois politician with senatorial aspirations, Adlai Stevenson III, who reminded us the other day that the cost overrun on one new naval weapon amounts to more than the "fiscal 1970 spending for elementary and secondary education and water pollution combined." In short, the President's veto showed up the disparity between his priorities for the nation, and the priorities most people would prefer. In seeking a less-seamy America, Congress was hearkening to the voices of voters in an election year. The House should have stuck to its guns.

Mr. Nixon's rejection of the bid for more money for schools may have the opposite political effect from what he intends. What his veto did was bleed his State of the Union message of credibility. The poor, the blacks and the parents have all been turned off, just as the young were turned off during last November's peace march to Washington, when the President barricaded himself inside the White House and watched a football game on television. Congress wanted to spend more on schooling; the Administration has said no. The same pattern appears elsewhere. Formerly it was Congress that resisted strengthening civil rights; now it's the Administration that seeks to dilute civil rights legislation. Expenditure cuts, and not just for education, are justified with a blanket plea that inflation robs us all. And of course it does. But in the recession that is the President's cure for inflation, it is the poor, and especially the poor blacks, who will be the first to be fired, because they were the last to be hired, just as school programs for the most deprived may vanish first. What then of the "quality of life"?

If the overriding necessity of balancing the budget compels the President to veto spending on schools, what is likely to come out of the Administration's newfound love for a clean America? Congress appropriated $800 million this year for cleaner water, and authorized $1.2 billion for 1971. But the President asked for only $214 million for this year, and his plan for municipal waste treatment plants may amount only to $800 million for fiscal 1971. The Administration is trying to fudge this, by talking about spending $10 billion over five years. Mr. Nixon does not specify how much of that amount is to be federal money. If it turns out that a large portion of the financing is to be attempted through municipal bonds, it may properly be asked who is going to buy them in the present state of the bond market. Meanwhile, the Bureau of the Budget has threatened to impound $586 million of the $800 million that the Congress appropriated for pure water – the excess over the $214 million which is all that the President wishes to spend this year.

When the Administration is urged to spend more, rather than talk more, on improving the texture of life, the HEW Secretary counters by poor-mouthing: "We have only so much capability, we can only spend so much," which is something else again from Mr. Nixon's anti-inflation plea. And Pat Moynihan pleads, somewhat unexpectedly, that after all, "ecological degradation has been going on for a century"; meaning apparently that halting it can wait a bit longer. What cannot wait, it seems, is a civilian supersonic transport plane which the Administration is pledged to subsidize to a total of $1.3 billion (the amount refused to health and education) beginning immediately with $96 million. That is more, Ralph Nader points out, than the annual budget of the National Air Pollution Control Administration.

We're with Senator Mansfield, waiting to be shown. Thus far, the President's program is not as convincing as his script, and it will not "inspire young America with a sense of excitement, destiny and involvement" as wistfully hoped by Milton Eisenhower.

Twenty years ago, General Eisenhower proposed curing recession by making deep cuts in government spending. The Eisenhower program did not cure but actually caused further recession, which cost the country hundreds of billions of dollars in lost output through involuntary unemployment. The Nixon program looks like producing a recession also; the economy has already come to a dead stop as far as real growth is concerned, but with continuing huge military spending into the bargain. Mr. Moynihan is right when he says the country "clearly is going to have to make decisions about priorities with respect to the way it spends federal money." The trouble is, the country isn't making the decisions, and the evidence points to Mr. Nixon making the wrong ones.

COMING: a report from California on Jesse Unruh's chances of toppling Governor Reagan

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About Democracy

Early this month, Democratic chairmen in each state will receive a "compliance" letter from the McGovern Commission, telling them what they must do to conform to the new rules adopted last fall by that panel, and thus be able to qualify delegates for the 1972 convention without challenge. The rules cover a lot of ground and correct obvious abuses uncovered during the 1968 pre-convention struggle. No one rule can be construed as radical. The initial response of the party chieftains will offer a clue to whether we can expect a more democratic Democratic party. Democratic National Chairman, Sen. Fred Harris, has endorsed the new rules and says he considers them in effect for 1972.

The Commission came up with a mixed bag of "mandatory" rules and mere "recommendations"; the former are stressed in the compliance letter. With one major exception, they deal with access to power, rather than the distribution of power within the party. Mandatory rulings include: a welcome to 18-year-olds into full participation at every level of party activity regardless of state law; a prohibition against practices such as proxy voting, closed slate-making sessions and secret caucuses; a requirement that minority groups, young people (under 30) and women be represented on delegations in "reasonable relationship" to the proportion of those groups in the population of the state; a ban on compulsory fees for delegates in excess of $10; a requirement that each state adopt party rules which are "easily accessible"; a reiteration of the decision of the Chicago convention to bar the use of the unit rule; and a rule that the delegate selection process start in the calendar year of the convention – the so-called "timeliness" requirement.

The provision that caused the Commission the most grief dealt with the distribution of power within a state. The best the McGovern panel could come up with was a compromise that moved Dr. Aaron Henry of Mississippi to complain that his colleagues "continually eroded to the most conservative position." The compromise says that in dividing up delegates assigned a state, a formula must be used that is based equally on total population and the state's vote for the Presidential candidate in the previous national election. Further, at least 75 percent of the state delegation must come from units no larger than a congressional district. The chief advantage here will accrue to inner-city areas of the north where minority groups cast heavy Democratic tallies. It also means the Mexican-American belt in south Texas will get more delegates than the fashionable areas of west Houston. It remains to be seen, however, how much of a veto state conventions will have over the delegates named from the smaller units. More challenges may be in prospect.

One thing the Commission couldn't bring itself to accept was the idea of proportional representation. The demand for this came largely from veterans of the McCarthy campaign who in 1968, in state after state, put together a substantial minority and went unrewarded. Their solution: to require both convention and primary states to divide up delegates on the basis of Presidential preferences. Had this been in effect, California's delegation to Chicago in '68 would have been split 46-42-12 between Kennedy, McCarthy and Humphrey backers. The prospect upset Fred Dutton, a long-time Kennedy man and Commission member, who said by considering proportional representation, the Commission was "tampering with majority rule." What it was really tampering with was the formula of piecing together a combination of ethnic and racial blocs to win entire state delegations.

A mandatory proportional representation rule would, however, also protect Southern loyalists who may find themselves in a minority in state conventions.

In the end, the Commission simply recommended proportional representation to the 1972 convention, for a final decision.

The Commission expanded the ban on unit rule to include "favorite son" delegations, a move that is sure to anger some old-line politicians, since one of the favorite tactics of power brokers has been to tie up convention delegations behind a "favorite son" while they shop around for the best deal.

A definition of the "timeliness" rule is laid out in the compliance letter. It too will bar established practices. It was the Chicago convention itself that decreed that delegates must henceforth be chosen in a process beginning the year of the convention. (The Commission showed that as many as 1000 of the 2622 delegates to Chicago were selected in a process that began up to four years before the convention; Vice President Humphrey received the bulk of those votes.)

Clearly, the requirement that state parties have easily accessible rules is overdue. The Commission found that in 1968, 20 states either had no rules, or rules so vague as to be useless, or that party officials couldn't or wouldn't produce them. In Missouri in '68, thousands of voters were locked out of caucuses in the absence of such rules.

One new provision – opening the party to 18-year-olds – ran into static when Texas' Democratic State Chairman Will Davis, citing a law in his state that requires a precinct caucus participant to have voted in the Democratic primary that day, said 18-year-olds would "have no more right to participate than a Russian." He was overruled.

Some states will be reluctant to give up fees imposed on delegates. Indiana, for instance, charges delegates $500 for the privilege of serving.

Last fall, when the McGovern Commission adopted these mandatory rules and procedural recommendations, no state was even near compliance on all points.

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Since then, Michigan Democrats, meeting in special convention in mid-January, not only adopted but improved upon the recommendations of its own Haber Commission, appointed in the aftermath of the Chicago debacle. One feature of Michigan's new plan is strict proportional representation for the state convention that selects national delegates. Colorado Democrats have also adopted proportional representation, starting at a precinct level, but they are still out of compliance with the 50-50 formula for allocating national convention delegates within the state.

One problem facing the Commission as it shifts from deciding to persuading is the dearth of funds. At last report, Senators McGovern and Harold Hughes had had to put up $15,000 in personal loans to keep the staff going. It was still necessary to let half of the research staff go. In this respect, however, the Commission is no worse off than the deficit-ridden Democratic party itself.

Save That Train

It's bad enough when trains don't run on time; it's worse when they don't run at all. If the California Zephyr dies February 14 – its life has already been prolonged twice – the Western Pacific Railroad, the Denver Rio Grande Western Railroad, and the Interstate Commerce Commission, will have suceeded in censoring some of the finest scenery available to the earth-bound traveler in America.

The California Zephyr has been making its daily run to and from Chicago and San Francisco since the summer of 1949, when the stainless steel vista dome cars replaced the old Exposition Flyer. The CZ's schedule has been arranged to provide the best views for passengers during the daylight hours of a 50-plus hour run. The Interstate Commerce Commission, which permitted the railroads to dispose of hundreds of trains during the '60s, took a hard line against Western Pacific in 1967, when it initiated proceedings to discontinue the Zephyr. It did so again last year. But it extended the run only until next week. The ICC will then say whether this "unique national asset" will die, or keep running for at least another year.

Western Pacific, which operates the train between Salt Lake City and San Francisco, has pleaded for discontinuance on the grounds that the train is bleeding the company to death. It *is* operating at a loss. Nevertheless, it has been paying a handsome dividend to its shareholders – until this fiscal quarter, when the dividend was omitted, possibly to convince the ICC to allow discontinuance. The Zephyr is about the only passenger service still offered by the Rio Grande Railroad, which handles the run between Denver and Salt Lake City. The third operator is the Burlington, which carries the train from Chicago to Denver.

More than 100,000 passengers take the Zephyr trip each year; patronage has held fairly steady over the last two decades. The ICC has not considered the losses an "undue burden on interstate commerce." The relatively uninteresting plains and prairies of Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska, are traveled mostly at night; after that, says the railroad's brochure, "our route passes through some of the wildest and most rugged sections of the far flung Rockies, an incomparable region of National Forest, where nature has exposed herself in unbounded beauty and grandeur." After passing through the six-mile Moffat Tunnel under James Peak, the Zephyr enters "Gore Canyon, one of the deepest and most rugged of all Western gorges," then joins the Colorado River "for 238 pleasure-filled miles"; and so it goes. The passengers sleep as the train crosses Utah flats and Nevada deserts, awakening to the second day's spectacular as the train, now in California, follows the Feather River Canyon for 118 miles. After crossing the Central Valley, it terminates in Oakland in the early afternoon. The State Department sends many a foreign visitor and guest over the route.

In its Docket #24916, the ICC told the Western Pacific to do all it can to reduce the deficit. The WP replied that it has, yet the losses grow. It might also have said that over the last 10 to 15 years, the railroads, with few exceptions, have been dedicated to the elimination of all passenger traffic. Commuter services, even the Metroliner, and certainly what is left of long-haul service, are running only because it has been either legally or politically impossible to abandon them.

The exceptions are the Seaboard Coast Line, the Santa Fe, Union Pacific, and Great Northern. Most of the other roads have given up, dropped advertising of passenger service, closed ticket offices, severely cut back on personnel in reservations and other passenger service – and then applied for discontinuance, usually granted by the ICC.

What could be done to save the Zephyr? The Western Pacific, Rio Grande and Burlington roads might at least consider advertising the train more widely, and positively. They might also permit agents to earn a commission on sales. Most railroads don't pay a travel agent a commission, and if they do, the paperwork alone is enough to persuade an agent to send his clients by air. Couldn't the railroads tie in with airlines and rent-a-car agencies to promote combination air-rail trips, and car rental in conjunction with the trip? Airlines and steamship lines have done it for years. Maybe, even with tax relief in the states through which the train passes, and more cooperation from the unions to achieve greater efficiencies, the scenic trains won't be able to break even. In that case, this most popular of long distance trains should be declared a National Historic Landmark, just like San Francisco's cable cars.

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Timber!

A bill now in Congress called the Timber Supply Act has created a flurry of concern in conservation circles over exploitation ("Raiding the Forests," Michael McClosky, *NR*, Dec. 13, 1969). In my judgment what we ought to be more concerned about is the conservatism of our forest policies. In northern California there are peaks, between the inland highway and the coast 150 miles west, that are over 10,000 feet high and that almost no one has ever seen. In Oregon there is a stretch of timber between the McKenzie highway and Willamette Pass that is about 60 miles long and some 30 to 40 miles wide without a sign of a road. If we could get into these areas, we could have small crews with light equipment salvage the dead and down timber and keep alive lumber mills that otherwise will have to shut down. But Mr. McCloskey and the Sierra Club make any such venture sound sinful.

Mr. McCloskey says the premises of increased cutting of timber are faulty on every count. Just how does he spirit away the better than 100 billion feet of dead and down timber that will be lost if an extended road system is delayed? How does he spirit away the maybe 10 or 15 billion feet lost each year to natural disasters? In 1958, Senator Morse fought to get roads into the Mt. St. Helens area in Oregon, to no avail. Some three billion feet of old growth silver fir were killed by bugs and rotted away as a result.

Many West Coast communities lack the money to activate more intensive forest management. The Timber Supply Act is designed to provide those additional funds, from timber sales of National Forests.

For many years the men in the Forest Service have had to do things they did not want to do, because of limited funding. Only by a sort of quasilegal skullduggery have they managed as well as they have. The Forest Service has been selling timber partly on a barter basis; it has given the logger the chance to build a bridge, or a few miles of logging road as part payment for timber, with the rest in cash. This may mean little to people far from forests, but only by such means have the timber managers been able to push logging roads into the high ridges; timber of low value has been logged, instead of the much more valuable timber from the bottomlands. We still have some fine stands of timber in the western mountains, much of it now unreachable, and it is this high quality timber that can pay the high wage scales needed to keep the timber industry alive. Yet this sort of bartering has its limits. To the best of my knowledge the Forest Service has done all that it can with such arrangements, and we are losing mills right along.

The problems of the mills and the National Forests are many, but too few dollars for timber management is at the heart of most of them. With larger funds available, through regulated sale of timber from the national forests, the Forest Service could in short order put in a comprehensive network of logging roads, opening up to salvage logging many billions of feet of dead and down timber in the western mountains. There are many sections of back country with no roads, particularly in California, Oregon, Washington and Idaho. I am told that at the rate we are now going, it will be more than 40 years before a complete network of roads will be built, and that in Oregon alone there are some 40 billion feet of dead and down timber that will be lost if road construction waits on the normal pattern of development. This timber is old growth largely; it is of far more value than a similar stand of live young timber.

Since most of the timber in the western mountains is in very heavy stands, new roads will be paid for largely by the sale of timber on the right of way alone. In the event of natural disasters (wind storms, fires or disease), the timber lost could be rapidly salvaged.

In Oregon again, some ten million acres of national forests have new stands of second growth, some of which can be thinned of larger trees, thus permitting smaller, otherwise stunted trees to spring to life. It is estimated that as much timber can be obtained from such cuttings (that is from dead and down trees, disasters and thinnings) as is being harvested in all of Oregon at present. It would increase the present cut of some eight billion feet to 16 billion, without a tree being planted and with no damage to timber stocks.

This program is entirely separate from replanting millions of acres of old, burned areas which are not coming back to timber. We could do that too. There are a great many jobless young men in our cities, yet there is work to be done. In the Job Corps camps, some few thousand have been doing it, in forestry camps. But that program has now been cut back. There is an almost unlimited need for the work such men can do – and not just in the West. The main source of growth potential is in the hundred million acres of forest land east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio.

The 1958 Timber Resource Review of the Forest Service forecast a timber need in the year 2000 of twice that being cut in the 1950s. The report saw an increasing growth over cut until the year 1985, and then a marked increase of cut over growth for the future – unless policies are radically changed.

Wilderness lovers are alarmed at the thought of an invasion by bulldozers. The alarm seems to be unwarranted. Many areas of wilderness that are now totally inaccessible can be made usable by extending our roads. We have in the Columbia gorge area, miles of high cliffs and peaks which no one is able to get near. They are set aside as recreational lands, partly for the highly unusual scenery, and partly because the roughness of the scenic country does not lend itself to commercial forestry. What few trails were created by the CCC boys have long since grown over. It is an

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old wilderness that can be brought to people only by a timber access road system behind the gorge. If we do no more than we are doing, we shall go on losing that timber that can't be reached, while at the same time lumber prices will reach new and unhealthy heights, limiting the building of homes that we need and running up welfare costs that we don't need.

Howard Rogers

Presidential Bowstring

The feeble health of liberalism in the United States at present is observed by all observers. The lady languishes. So much is beyond dispute. She keeps her room, she pines, she cannot take the air. Her voice is reduced to a murmur, which allows the trumpeting of the Vice President to dominate the sound waves. Her state is deplorable, and her hereditary foes, wringing their hands publicly and rubbing them privately, aver that she has gone into a decline that cannot be arrested because it is due to an irremediable thinness of blood.

It could be. But before the observer buys it, he should explore the alternative theory, that liberalism suffers, not from anemia, but from garroting by the most expert manipulator of the bowstring since the days of Abdul the Bulbul Ameer. The high efficiency of this method of execution lay in the fact that, once the bowstring was properly looped around the throat, the more the victim struggled, the tighter he drew the noose and pious sophisters could write off his end as suicide.

A relatively short memory lends credibility to this explanation by recalling Mr. Nixon's efficiency with the political bowstring, braided of hatred, prejudice, and superstition, in the cases of Jerry Voorhis, Helen Gahagan Douglas, Robert Oppenheimer, and, through alliance with Joseph McCarthy and his wrecking crew, of many others. Once only did it snap in his hands, when he described one of the most brilliant eras in our political history as "twenty years of treason."

It is not surprising, then, that Mr. Nixon has neatly throttled criticism of the Vietnam war by announcing that he intends to get out, and withdrawing rather better than 10 percent of our troops. Can a liberal object to that? He cannot, without creating suspicion that he secretly favors war, pestilence, and famine, all of which we have been inflicting on the wretched Vietnamese since July 8, 1959, the date when the first American soldier was killed in combat.

In the old days the expert garroter frequently doubled his bowstring and Mr. Nixon has not failed to follow that practice. In fact, he has cleverly converted one of his most exposed positions into a strong point against criticism. We have at present a huge army in a very perilous position. By a combination of bad civilian diplomacy and worse military strategy we have contrived to land that army, whose fighting quality bears comparison with the best in our history, in such a position that it can achieve nothing worthwhile by moving forward, yet cannot move back without undertaking one of the most difficult operations known to the art of war, a retreat under fire through a hostile country. Xenophon managed it, and thereby became immortal, but it was too much for Napoleon and too much for Hitler. MacArthur, like the British at Dunkirk, was saved by the sailors.

Perhaps General Abrams has the necessary genius. We must hope so, but it is a delicate maneuver in which he will need all the help that intelligent diplomacy can give him. In the circumstances, any deliberate attempt to joggle the President's elbow is thought unthinkable.

At the moment liberalism, half throttled, can only gasp wishes for the President's success in his present policy. But perhaps that is not the whole story, for a sequel is possible. One recalls the commander in Victor Hugo's novel who was proceeding to the Vendee in a warship when, in a gale, one of the huge cannon on the gun-deck slipped its lashing and began plunging about the deck threatening destruction of the ship. But an agile sailor leaped down to the deck, caught up a rope and, after escaping instant death half a dozen times, managed to take a hitch round the piece and secure it. The commander, who had watched the feat, learned that the same man was responsible for the insecure lashing in the first place. So when the sailor was brought before him the commander detached his own highest decoration, the Cross of St. Louis, and pinned it on the sailor's breast for his heroism – and then had him shot for his carelessness.

That, however, is by the way. The immediate problem is how to withdraw from Vietnam without losing most of that magnificent army. If Mr. Nixon solves that problem he should have the highest decoration available – and be defeated for reelection.

Gerald W. Johnson

The Nixon Watch

A Look at John Mitchell

At the beginning of an interview with Attorney General John W. Mitchell the other day, I said that I'd like to hear from him an accurate statement of his relationship with and influence upon President Nixon. Mr. Mitchell settled into his chair, puffed his pipe, and asked in a tone of plaintive wonder, "Why is there so

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much interest in that subject?" I said, maybe it was because the President had said last May, in a widely reported chat with White House correspondents, that the Attorney General was his "closest adviser," the adviser who was consulted more than any other, "on all legal matters and on many other matters as well." Mr. Mitchell puffed and ruminated and murmured, "Did he say that? So *that's* where it started."

A silence ensued. Thinking that a little needling might be useful, I mentioned a printed account which had him boasting last August that the President "hears my views on most important subjects, and I think he values my judgment." The Attorney General flushed. He swelled. He rumbled. He said that the account was perfectly ridiculous. Nobody in his right mind would believe that he would say such a thing. He would say now what he always said: "In addition to being in the Cabinet, I am on the Urban Affairs Council. The President has asked me to sit with the National Security Council, which I do. I do some work with the national intelligence community." Previous Attorneys General, Secretary of State William P. Rogers and the late Robert Kennedy among them, had sat with the NSC. True enough; but why had the President put him on a special "verification panel" of disarmament and foreign affairs specialists, charged with evaluating the technical factors that may condition American positions to be taken in strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union? "I would presume," Mitchell answered, "that it is because my legal background provides a judgment that isn't provided by the other members. By the nature of that work, you get into a question of proof." Was it true that the President sought his counsel on a comprehensive range of foreign policy questions? "He has asked my opinion on certain matters," Mitchell replied with evident care, adding that "normally, of course, these expressions arise during general discussion with others." Could he, would he cite instances in which it appeared to him that his opinions influenced either foreign or domestic policy decisions? He answered: "I would never know. The President is a man who receives input and advice from many quarters and makes his own determinations. So I wouldn't have the faintest idea of the decisions that I may have influenced."

Change of subject: did he feel that he had been well served, and that he in turn had served the President well, in the background checks that he had been provided and that he in turn had provided the President on Judge Clement Haynsworth, Jr., the South Carolina jurist whose nomination to the Supreme Court had been rejected by the Senate? The opinion that the Attorney General had been badly served by the FBI and by his own staff, and that the President had been badly served by Mitchell, is common in Washington and is shared by some people at the White House. Mitchell said that he disagreed: the President had never expressed dissatisfaction to him; and "I think on balance that the people in this Department and outside provided the background information that was necessary." Labor union pressure and "wild charges," charges that should never have been considered, were "the determining factors."

Now there was another Southern nominee, Harrold Carswell of Georgia and Florida. It had just come out that in a political speech in 1948 he had declared his "firm, vigorous belief in the principles of white supremacy" and had said that "I shall always be so governed." Mitchell said in a formal statement that "a most extensive background investigation" of Judge Carswell "included a complete review of his judicial philosophy and background." He, the Attorney General, remained convinced "that Judge Carswell is firmly committed to the constitutional and moral philosophy of racial equality." I asked Mitchell whether the discovery of the 1948 speech had surprised him. "Yes, it did," he answered. I didn't have to ask him how it was that his investigators had failed to come upon the speech, printed at length at the time in a rural Georgia newspaper edited by Carswell. The oversight was understandable, Mitchell volunteered, "because that newspaper and its records are no longer in existence." The newspaper is defunct, but it was regarded as an official county record and the 1948 files are preserved in the county clerk's office, where a Jacksonville TV reporter found them and the speech. A White House

"Really, folks—behind his engaging facade is a cunning political mind."

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spokesman said that it didn't really matter, anyway: the positions that Judge Carswell took as a young lawyer-editor when he ran for the Georgia legislature in 1948 had been fully covered in the background checks and discounted as the necessary effusions of a deep-South politician at that time. Mitchell put it differently to me: "The information that we had was that he was the most liberal of the three candidates." When he said this, he seemed to be a little shaken, a little uncertain, as if he understood that this latest flaw in his checks upon a Supreme Court nominee was bound to impair his own reputation, whatever effect it might have upon the nominee's chances of confirmation. Evidence that Carswell had been a director, in 1955, of a private club formed in Tallahassee, Fla., in order to take over a city golf course and bar Negroes from it, had not come to light when we had our talk. The Attorney General was preoccupied with happy thoughts of another matter involving Judge Carswell. The judge's critics were going to be confounded, Mitchell said, when they discovered that Carswell had joined in a decision requiring the barbershop where he gets his hair cut to serve Negroes.

Nothing in this encounter shook my previous impressions that Mr. Mitchell wields large influence in both domestic and foreign matters; that the troubles with the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations are among the many brought upon the Nixon Administration, in part thanks to the Mitchell factor in its affairs, by his and Mr. Nixon's calculated determination to secure and widen the Administration's hold upon the white Southern vote; and that in numerous respects John Mitchell personifies and encourages some of the worst tendencies of this Administration. But this seems to me to have been so well documented by events that it makes dull writing and duller reading. There is much that is more interesting to be said about Mr. Mitchell; the remainder of this space will be devoted to it.

The Attorney General's conception of himself is fascinating. He set it forth in a passage that he says he wrote for himself, in a speech last August to the American Bar Association in Dallas. His guide as Attorney General, he said then, "is the ancient common law guide of the 'reasonable man' whom our forefathers established as the enlightened compromiser in a pluralistic society. The mark of the 'reasonable man' is to balance the interests; to adhere to a moral ideal where that adherence is compelling; but, in general, to negotiate a practical middle-of-the-road solution.

How this works out in the Mitchell way was illustrated by his handling last year of the electoral reform issue for the President. Nixon said in one of his first messages to Congress that he favored the direct election of Presidents but doubted that an amendment providing it would be ratified by the necessary 38 states. So he, and Mitchell in his behalf, advocated a proportional method that would preserve state electors while depriving them of their right to vote "at whim." Congressman Andrew Jacobs, Jr., of Indiana, asked Mitchell at a committee hearing why he and Mr. Nixon didn't "support this principle in which you believe." Mitchell answered, "It is not a question of the principle we believe in. It is the question of the proposition that is attainable." The House, contrary to his and White House calculations, voted for direct election and Nixon came out for it. Mitchell, who really prefers proportional election, will be supporting direct election in the Senate this year.

Mitchell denies that he is the principal author of the Administration's substitute for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, though he is. He also denies that the principal purpose of the substitute is to please the white South by applying, nationwide, sanctions against electoral discrimination that now apply only to seven Southern states. The purpose is all that is seriously wrong with Mitchell's bill; it preserves the important sanctions, bans literacy tests and residential requirements (as the US Civil Rights Commission and the American Civil Liberties Union, among others, have advocated) and probably does not weaken the federal government's oversight of state and local election laws as gravely as some critics suspect. Mitchell, tiring of tedious technicalities during the formulation of the bill last year, peremptorily inserted the ban on literacy tests before he had the facts to support his contention that in many non-Southern states and cities they discourage minority registration. Now the Civil Rights Commission, not one of his institutional admirers, has produced some statistics that give his case at least the color of factual support. But the Southern taint will plague him in the Senate this year as it did in the House last year. Mr. Nixon's "reasonable man" will again be reduced to denying the palpable truth that he and the Administration care less about national electoral fairness than they do about Southern support for Republican candidates.

An organization that recently made this point with telling force is the Ripon Society, an aggregation of relatively progressive and mostly young Republicans. Three of its former officers are on Nixon's White House staff and one of them, John Price, recently became executive secretary of the Urban Affairs Council, of which Mitchell is a prestigious but generally disinterested member. Mitchell, stung by Ripon's criticism, blurted into a TV microphone that its members are so many "little juvenile delinquents." It was hardly the remark of a truly "reasonable man," but it has been noted to his credit at the White House that he has not had Price and the other delinquents fired, as he probably could do if he put his mind and his influence with Mr. Nixon to it.

Two similar variations from what is widely thought to be the Mitchell norm are noteworthy. His assent was decisive in the Administration's successful effort to eliminate from the new tax act a provision that would have deprived the Southern Regional Council

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of the foundation money it uses to further Negro voter registration. The other variation has to do with the November Mobilization against the Vietnam war, which drove Mitchell to excesses of misrepresentation and indirect repression. He got a notion that Richard Blumenthal, a bright Democrat on the Nixon staff, was a Mobe spy within the Nixon house, and marked him for imminent dismissal. Then along came Donald Rumsfeld, the poverty director, with a recommendation that Blumenthal be appointed, at age 23, the head of VISTA, the poverty program's domestic Peace Corps. Mitchell calmed down, heard out Blumenthal's explanation he was only communicating with the Mobe leadership for the White House, and said he wouldn't oppose the appointment. It's the sort of thing that causes the minority of moderate men around Mr. Nixon to believe that there's good in and hope for John Mitchell, after all.

John Osborne

Report from Nigeria

One Nation, Divisible

Lagos, Nigeria

In marketplaces, carvers still sell ebony hands with an outstretched index finger. It is the symbol of "One Nigeria," the incarnation of the Lagos junta's aims, and Texas oil workers here have been the most enthusiastic purchasers of the totems: it is displayed with an alcoholic crescendo: "Up your ass!" They may not be far wrong about its ultimate significance. The disappearance of a fighting, aggressive enemy has forced Africa's largest nation – with a UN-estimated 1970 population of 67.5 million – to contemplate a return to representative government. A Pandora's box is opened, and defeated Biafra seems to be mocking Lagos with the prospect of what victory may cost.

No jubilation, official or popular, has marked the end of the war. There was no dancing in the streets, none of the private parties for which the collapse of Biafran resistance would have been a justifiable pretext. For two weeks, the junta was reluctant to show off its hordes of prisoners, or its flag flying over captured cities. The press that came to publicize Nigeria's triumph was treated as a hostile force. A Nigerian ambassador excused this boorishness by saying: "Well surely you realize that not a single Western correspondent of any consequence took our side?"

Understandably, Major-General Gowon is anxious to keep his defeated foe, the articulate General Ojukwu, away from the peace conference table. As a political price, Gowon seems prepared to pretend that everyone else in Biafra is "innocent," and the whole disastrous war the fruit of one superman's evil genius. His plenipotentiaries talk with Biafra's Chief Justice, Sir Louis Mbanefo – who in private is perhaps the bitterest of all the Ibos. "In this sort of situation," he says, "someone has to get the best peace possible." He strokes his white hair and says: "Eh! I understand poor Pétain now."

Gowon counts still more on Major-General Philip Effiong, the Biafran army commander, to bring the Biafrans over. Like most Northerners, Gowon has convinced himself that anyone who is not of the Ibo tribe will somehow be less Biafran. But Effiong, after making his surrender broadcast, wanted to commit suicide.

The sudden collapse surprised most people. On Saturday evening, January 10, as Ojukwu was flying from Biafria to Libreville, Gabon, to try to arrange armistice talks, the presses at London's *Daily Telegraph* were rolling with a leaked report by Colonel Robert Scott, the British military attaché in Lagos, analyzing in clinical detail the wasteful ineffectiveness of the Nigerian army. The tendency of units to fire in the air and return to camp quickly had made Nigerian soldiers, Scott wrote, "artisanal defoliators." The Biafrans, with 24 rocket-firing planes, were better armed than ever before. If Ojukwu could hold out until the April rains, Scott said in his report for the British Foreign Secretary, he would win. But Scott had counted without the physical and emotional exhaustion of the Biafrans.

What can we expect now? Said one of Scott's colleagues after Scott's expulsion: "The Nigerian army was appallingly inadequate in war. In victory it will be simply appalling." But intense international concern, from the Pope and U Thant downward, forced Gowon to take unusual care to ensure that victory was not too much abused. The world shrugged its shoulders about the Congo. But Nigeria, ruled by Sandhurst, administered by Oxford, would not be so easily forgiven. Nevertheless, the first days of the junta's breakthrough, according to Scandinavian Red Cross mercy teams which escaped to Dahomey, were reminiscent of Africa's pre-colonial, medieval-style wars.

President Félix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, West Africa's most respected elder statesman, called Biafra "the first nation in West Africa." The Israel-like role imposed on Biafra by the pogrom and surrounding events helped greatly to create this dogged and courageous belief in nationhood. Biafra's Ojukwu was the first popular leader Nigeria has produced since independence. The Scandinavian doctors and other mercy workers say the news that he had left the country and might not be able to return traumatized his people. After two days, Effiong had to abandon his military plans and produce a surrender statement in terms Lagos would accept.

Lagos will doubtless exploit the implications of some of Biafra's support, and ignore the rest. Ojukwu's friends have been an extraordinary mix: moral support

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from Dr. Vorster, ex-President Kwame Nkrumah and rightwing American commentators; arms help from hard-nosed men of scruple like De Gaulle and Houphouet-Boigny; recognition from socialist pan-Africanists like Nyerere and Kaunda; physical participation by pure idealists like the heroes of the airborne relief organizations. It will be easy for Lagos to hit at Portugal and even dictatorial Gabon for their backing of Biafra, but if present attacks continue on Nyerere, the Pope and Pompidou they can only be counter-productive.

Is Ojukwu to be counted on anymore? Nigeria has not written him off – partly perhaps because he is a useful bogey. His preference for secret flights and secret negotiations, rather than Haile Selassie's 1936 strategy of an appeal to the muted conscience of the world, is seen by most observers as a mistake; but he is probably more influenced by the example of De Gaulle in 1940 than Haile Selassie in 1936.

What of General Gowon? Does victory make him redundant? Businessmen in Lagos, convinced that oil royalties will enable the Lagos government to pay fat reconstruction and procurement bills, are hopeful that he and his officers will survive, leaving them to deal with the "mandarin" administrators on whom the officers rely. Some "optimists" about Nigeria's future see the soldiers, like kings of old, granting a little more constitutional freedom in assimilable doses, and overseeing the introduction of civilian governments of which they approve. A reconstructed Biafra would learn to thank Nigeria for bringing it back from starvation and destruction (slowly and at enormous suffering); a new group of Biafran leaders will accept the new order from which their power is derived. They will help write a constitution that corrects the injustices of the 1967 pronunciamento that helped provoke secession. Eventually, Ojukwu will be persuaded to give his blessing to the new order and return.

More disillusioned Nigeria-watchers see a bitter dogfight for political power, both in Lagos and up-country. They see Gowon, a small-tribe Northern Christian, being taken on by the "true North" – the Muslim Fulani emirs and their Muslim senior army officer front-men. They see Gowon's principal civilian support facing the challenge of a new Yoruba generation reared on current beliefs that integrity and a spice of leftwing economics would make Nigeria come right.

The oil money pouring out of US, British and Italian wells has largely gone to buy arms, the most important of which come from the Soviet Union. Having acquired a jet air force, Lagos now has "spare parts dependence" on Moscow which, in return for arms assistance, has been promised naval facilities in Calabar. The choice of a Biafran port was presumably made by Lagos to keep Russian help going for as long as Nigeria needed it. It caused Moscow pressure against a negotiated peace and the Russian build-up of arms which permitted Nigeria's fourteenth "final offensive" to be successful. Assuming that the junta does not want its air force simply to waste away, it must now close its eyes to the Russians behaving exactly like the Americans and British in Nigeria – showing films in "cultural centers," sponsoring visits by astronauts, and so on. There will be Russo-Nigerian equivalents of the Royal Commonwealth Society of Nigeria and the American Universities Alumni League.

Correspondents have been taken aside regularly over the past few years by American and British diplomats and warned that Nigeria is Moscow's main African target: anything that incensed the junta against the West was a bonus for the East, which was waiting for the inevitable victory of the Lagos forces. If you answered that the Russians have always managed to exhaust their welcome in Africa without help from the West, you were told that they had learned their lesson.

Their's is not an argument that can be lightly dismissed. But it ignores Nigerian multi-partite multi-tribalism. Biafra, says one thoughtful Nigerian, is "defeated but not won": you can assert with equal force that Yorubaland (the 16,000,000 people of Lagos and the Western state) has been the wartime ally of the North but is the North's enemy still.

The North massacred Ibos and other Easterners because almost all Southerners in the North were Easterners. But Northerners always hated Yorubas even more. Nigeria's toughest tribal dispute has yet to come: it is to be hoped that it will be resolved without war.

There are four main tribes in Nigeria – in order of numerical importance, Yoruba, Hausa, Ibo and Fulani – but several other groups of a million or more people. The North is Muslim-ruled, but one-third non-Muslim. The single issue of the war has obscured a galaxy of other group tensions. The tribes of the Mid-West are probably alone in being wealthy enough – five percent of the population, 35 percent of the oil – to unite against the unwelcome poor Nigerian mass that is all around them.

Most Westerners in Lagos, diplomats and businessmen, would prefer the status quo under Gowon to almost anything else; but they have few illusions about Gowon's qualities. One ambassador calls him "petty and rather gutless, but astute." His reaction to criticism is that of vanity rather than ideological or political anger. His continued presence at the head of a predominantly military government symbolizes compromise between Nigeria's warring political factions. His departure would be the signal that the fight was not only on, but open. Since taking power Gowon has never been abroad and has rarely left Lagos. If he left Nigeria (he has half-promised to visit Cairo) and returned to find his position intact, this would demonstrate a degree of power he has not enjoyed for three and a half years of office.

Ultimate power resides in the predominantly

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Northern-officered army with its predominantly Northern regular troops and predominantly Yoruba conscripts. Much now depends on who is sent where: whether Northerners continue to garrison Yorubaland or are replaced by Yorubas accepted into the permanent army; whether all or most conscripts are demobilized or whether some are retained, for military reasons or to achieve a more "One Nigeria" army. Each region will undoubtedly press for regional defense forces and the North will either resist this pressure or give way to it. The future lies with tribal military power – either a continuation of the Northern, armed hegemony or the creation of different cores of tribal impregnability. Evolution rather than revolution would include a series of both regional and central challenges to the status quo. Whatever happens, the war is over and the battle now starts, leading from One Nigeria to something else.

Russell Warren Howe

The Growing Pains of Medical Care (III)

Paying for Health

by Fred Anderson

If it were not for the financial squeeze on the Middle American, President Nixon, Secretary Finch and Dr. Egeberg probably would never have gathered at the White House last summer to admit that the nation's health care system is in very bad shape. Politicians are pretty shrewd diagnosticians themselves. They see where the public hurts—in the region of the pocketbook. And so they prescribe "reform." Rep. John Dingell has a plan; so do Sen. Jacob Javits, Governor Rockefeller and the AFL-CIO. Even the AMA suggests a tax credit proposal which is being advanced by Rep. Richard Fulton and Sen. Paul Fannin. For the most part, all these "reforms" are after short-run savings and avoid "revolutionary change," which is what the President said we should have.

The AMA recommends that the cost of purchasing health insurance be a credit against income tax. These benefits would be graduated, so that those with higher incomes get correspondingly less benefit; persons whose incomes are so low that they got little or no benefit from the proposal would have part or all of their insurance premiums paid by federal, state or local government. A tax credit rather than deduction at least tends to give lower income groups as much of a break as the rich. But the AMA plan doesn't reach the cause of the crisis. Wasted resources, inflation, limited episodic care, and exclusion from insurance coverage of high risk patients would continue, except that insurance premiums would quickly surpass physicians' fees as inflationary items. Helping the taxpayer pay for inflation is no substitute for better care at less real cost. Where Medicaid waste occurs in exorbitant hospital bills and physicians' fees, the waste in a tax credit plan would come when private insurers got the breathtaking boon of indirect federal payment of a large share of the nation's insurance premiums. Congress ought to think twice before subsidizing a health insurance industry which imposes ever higher premiums, excludes more and more costs and treatments from coverage, and fails to insure more than about one-third of the poor. I hope my first two articles made clear that reorganizing health care is far more important than merely refinancing it. Yet refinancing is really all that the AMA plans, and most of the various national health insurance plans, would accomplish.

I am for national health insurance. But if enacted today, *with no change in the underlying system,* national health insurance would feed inflation for the same reasons that Medicare, Medicaid and private insurance feed it now. The physician's right to self-determined "reasonable" fees and the present physician-patient contract for services shields hospitals and practitioners from scrutiny and tempts them to take what they can get from large third-party funds, principally the federal programs and the private Blues. We saw this happen in the abrupt tripling of the rate of increase in physicians' fees and the quintupling of the rate of increase in hospital fees in the first year Medicaid and Medicare were in effect.

How then should health care be paid for? Two

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weeks ago I suggested that in return for a regular, set prepayment, each medical consumer ought to be able to receive comprehensive care, largely from group practices adept at family and community-centered preventive medicine. I also suggested that hospital care, and its financing, be coordinated with the group practices. Suppose for instance, that Congress were to authorize the Social Security Administration to increase payroll taxes on a sliding scale, thus creating a large fund out of which the public's medical expenses could be paid. No one would be exempt from this tax; on the other hand, no citizen could be denied its benefits. Suppose also that in order to pay the public's medical bills, Congress added to this fund from general revenues. This National Health Insurance fund would cover as many medical services as Congress could be convinced to include. Patients would be entitled to receive these services without additional charge, and physicians and health care institutions would receive payment for them from federal National Health Insurance. Gradually, other services would be added, until there is comprehensive health care for all.

The critical step comes when physicians or institutions ask National Health Insurance for reimbursement. They will, of course, be entitled to their fees, whether or not they practice in groups, participate in regional hospitalization plans, economize, accept annual lump-sum payments rather than fees-for-service, or practice preventive medicine. In fact, the only thing that might keep physicians or hospitals from being reimbursed is their refusal to submit information on health care delivery in sufficient detail to permit review by panels of physicians. But if physicians and health care institutions actually did move toward regionalized, prepaid group practice, they would be entitled to extra payments from National Health Insurance. Their less progressive, fee-for-service colleagues would have an incentive to do likewise.

The kind of special financial incentive I have in mind would reward pediatricians, internists and other specialists for forming group practices, with a bias toward preventive medicine. But incentives would do more than that. A key concept in reorganization is the sharing of total health responsibility among a team of health professionals. To foster the development of such teams, National Health Insurance might initially pay the entire salary, or a large fraction of it, for a consulting dietitian, or a community health nurse. Thus group practice, preventive medicine and shared responsibility would be made financially attractive to physicians, reducing their changeover costs substantially.

A variety of diseases can be headed off before they do their damage (e.g., glaucoma, high blood pressure, cancer, tuberculosis). Californians in the Kaiser Plan have been delighted that it offers screening (smears, x-rays, etc.) for as low as $1 per test. Prevention is cheaper than cure, and Kaiser is a *prepaid* plan. National Health Insurance, by offering to buy the necessary screening equipment and pay part of the operating costs, would be offering a further incentive to physicians to set up Multiphasic Health Screening (MHS) throughout the nation. The federal government has already supported MHS on an experimental basis in New Orleans, Milwaukee, Brooklyn and Providence.

The success of National Health Insurance, then, depends on a comprehensive plan which handles the medical care system with the right sticks and carrots. Such a plan is being drawn up by the Committee for National Health Insurance, which exists largely through the efforts of Walter Reuther and the UAW. Its membership includes Senators Yarborough, Cooper and Kennedy, Dr. Michael DeBakey, Whitney Young, Dean Robert Ebert of Harvard Medical School, Arthur J. Goldberg, Dr. Charles Mayo II, and Mayor Carl Stokes. A capable Technical Committee, headed by Dr. I. S. Falk, who has retired from teaching at Yale Medical School, is working on details which will be made public in mid-March. There are still some difficult questions. Will ceilings be set on the physicians' fees and insurance premiums charged during the transition period? (There seems to be no other way to curb inflation until the plan has a chance to take hold.) Should fee-for-service medicine be strongly discouraged right from the start? How long should the reorganizational changeover be expected to take?

Almost $20 billion of federal and state funds currently goes to medical education, health facilities construction and medical research. The money is not being wisely spent. Not only have we too few physicians; there is an imbalance in the distribution of physicians among the specialties as well. Take surgery. According to economist Victor Fuchs of New York University, surgeons averaged only 220 operations each in 1966, well below most surgeons' capacity for competent care. National Health Insurance would try to alter the career choices of medical students by supporting medical school training programs in undersupplied specialties (particularly those needed for family-centered health care teams), by funding internships and residencies in those specialties, by supplementing the salaries of young physicians who choose these careers, and by helping in critical regions and neighborhoods to build the facilities needed for group practice.

I mentioned earlier that National Health Insurance would gradually replace out-of-pocket expenditures, private insurance, Medicare and Medicaid. Thus, in its first year, NHI might pay the total costs of basic services (outpatient and inpatient hospital care, physicians' services, etc.), adding new services each year thereafter (laboratory and x-ray, nursing home, etc.), until comprehensive care is reached. I favor this approach. Others, however, think National Health Insurance should pay an escalating percentage of *all* per-

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sonal medical costs until comprehensive prepaid care is attained. Senator Kennedy disagrees with both these approaches and argues that infants, preschool and school-age children up to age 15 should receive total coverage the first year (1971), since preventive medicine would help them the most, and that the rest of the population should be added in ten-year steps (age 25 in 1972, age 35 in 1973, etc.) until National Health Insurance links up with an expanded Medicare program at age 65.

All these alternatives are reasonable ones; the only unreasonable one calls for immediate assumption of the entire $40-45 billion personal health care bill by National Health Insurance. It's unreasonable because it would perpetuate wasteful practices that might be eliminated through incentive payments and reviews. Also, while it is important that patients be able to make set prepayments to National Health Insurance (so that they can budget ahead for health care), it is more important for physicians to be paid in advance for care. Such a system will take time to build. A rapid takeover of the $40-45 billion health bill now paid for care *after* it is rendered would actually protect the fee-for-service pricing mechanism.

The success of National Health Insurance will depend very much upon how physicians react to it. Many have said they favor it; young physicians are not likely to oppose it as strenuously as their older colleagues. Nevertheless, the recalcitrance of physicians could throw health care into chaos. Nowhere in the world have physicians had the prestige, organizational muscle and resources that they do in the US; and nowhere else has there been a professional group more grimly determined to resist "socialized medicine." It is not just the AMA, which draws on dwindling but fervent support from the 20 percent of physicians in patient care who are general practitioners. Most specialists, salaried hospital doctors and medical school teaching staff are not interested in "national" health plans.

The resistance of some physicians to National Health Insurance is predictable; what is not predictable is how public opinion will form in the coming months. There are good reasons to think that the public is more receptive to National Health Insurance than is generally believed. Over the past few months politicians have flocked to the medical care issue, which gives support to this view. At the same time, organized medicine's image has been tarnished. The public did not think much of the AMA's victory last spring when it kept Dr. John Knowles from becoming Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, even though Dr. Knowles was Secretary Finch's choice (and the President's too, it appeared, for a few hours). The press used the incident as a short seminar on power politics, self-interest, and the shortsightedness of organized medicine. A 1967 Harris poll found that a majority of the American people favored a federal medical care insurance plan modeled on Medicare for the entire population. Indeed, most Americans were receptive to a federal role a decade ago. During the 1960 Presidential elections the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research at the University of Michigan found that 59 percent thought that "government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost." Early public support for a federal role in medical care also helps explain the 1965 passage of Medicare and Medicaid, despite frantic opposition by the AMA.

The Nixon Administration's opposition to National Health Insurance is based on the argument that it would be uncontrollably inflationary. This puts the Administration in something of a quandary. If inflation is running amok, reform of the kind I have described is necessary. And yet such far-reaching reform will be fought by the AMA with all its political resources, and the multi-billion dollar health insurance industry, threatened with extinction, would not be far behind.

The Administration thinks it has a way out through a proposal the AMA advanced in 1968: more medical services and manpower. True, in classic economic theory an increase in supply slows down inflationary demand. But more MDs and support personnel are wasted in a system which quickly loses marginal gains in its general inefficient operation, in population growth, and in increased demand. The most recent confirmation of this was offered in 1966 by the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower, which concluded that we should not continue to expend vast sums, simply to get marginally more services of the same kind. We *will* need more physicians and other health professionals, but added numbers will not get the American people the care they need at prices they – all of them – can afford.

The Committee for National Health Insurance will soon publish figures on the money we have lost through inefficiency in our health care system – not from inflation, not from poor financing mechanisms, but from plain waste. Taking insurance alone, medical consumers are being squeezed to death by both private and federal insurers. When costs become too great for insurance companies, they raise premiums, refuse to insure for more and more kinds of illnesses and costs, and turn down high-risk applicants. After a while the federal government begins to pay a share, principally through Medicare and Medicaid. Yet government too can apply the squeeze in our present system. Congress has limited the categories of the medically needy and cut funds; the Administration has cut health budgets and talks of ineffectual administrative reform. Congress could end the squeeze entirely by enacting a compulsory National Health Insurance plan, but one which commits government to add, not subtract, benefits, and which includes carefully worked out incentives for the reorganization of our entire health care system.

This is the last of three articles by Mr. Anderson.

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Desegregation

Where Do We Go from Here?

by Alexander M. Bickel

It will be sixteen years this May since the Supreme Court decreed in *Brown v. Board of Education* that the races may not be segregated by law in the public schools, and six years in July since the doctrine of the *Brown* case was adopted as federal legislative and executive policy in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Yet here we are, apparently struggling still to desegregate schools in Mississippi, Louisiana and elsewhere in the deep South, and still meeting determined resistance, if no longer much violence or rioting.

The best figures available indicate that only some 23 percent of the nationwide total of more than six million Negro pupils go to integrated public schools. About half the total of more than six million Negro pupils are in the South, and there the percentage of Negroes in school with whites is only 18.

What has gone wrong? The answer is, both less and a great deal more than meets the eye; it is true both that the school desegregation effort has been a considerable success, and that it has not worked.

The measure of the success is simply taken. Sixteen years ago, local law, not only in the 11 Southern states but in border states, in parts of Kansas, in the District of Columbia, forbade the mixing of the races in the schools, and official practice had the same effect in some areas in the North, for example portions of Ohio and New Jersey. Ten years ago, Southern communities were up in arms, often to the point of rioting or closing the public schools altogether, over judicial decrees that ordered the introduction of a dozen or two carefully selected Negro children into a few previously all-white schools. There are counties in the deep South that still must be reckoned as exceptions, but on the whole, the principle of segregation has been effectively denied, those who held it have been made to repudiate it, and the rigid legal structure that embodied it has been destroyed. That is no mean achievement, even though it still needs to be perfected and completed, and it is the achievement of law, which had irresistible moral force, and was able to enlist political energies in its service.

The achievement is essentially Southern. The failure is nationwide. And the failure more than the achievement is coming to the fore in those districts in Mississippi and Louisiana where the Supreme Court and a reluctant Nixon Administration are now enforcing what they still call desegregation on very short deadlines. In brief, the failure is this: To dismantle the official structure of segregation, even with the cooperation in good faith of local authorities, is not to create integrated schools, anymore than integrated schools are produced by the absence of an official structure of school segregation in the North and West. The actual integration of schools on a significant scale is an enormously difficult undertaking, if a possible one at all. Certainly it creates as many problems as it purports to solve, and no one can be sure that even if accomplished, it would yield an educational return.

School desegregation, it will be recalled, began and for more than a decade was carried out under the so-called "deliberate speed" formula. The courts insisted that the principle of segregation and, gradually, all its manifestations in the system of law and administration be abandoned; and they required visible proof of the abandonment, namely, the presence of black children in school with whites. The expectation was that a school district which had been brought to give up the objective of segregation would gradually reorganize itself along other nonracial lines, and end by transforming itself from a dual into a unitary system.

All too often, that expectation was not met. The objective of segregation was not abandoned in good faith. School authorities would accept a limited Negro presence in white schools, and would desist from making overt moves to coerce the separation of the races, but would manage nevertheless to continue operating a dual system consisting of all black schools for the vast majority of Negro children, and of white and a handful of nearly white schools for all the white children. This was sham compliance – tokenism it was contemptuously called, and justly so – and in the past few years, the Supreme Court, and HEW acting under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, determined to tolerate it no longer.

HEW and some lower federal courts first raised the ante on tokenism, requiring stated percentages of black children in school with whites. Finally they demanded that no school in a given system be allowed to retain its previous character as a white or black school. Faculties and administrators had to be shuffled about so that an entirely or almost entirely black or white faculty would no longer characterize a school as black or white. If a formerly all-Negro school was badly substandard, it had to be closed. For the rest, residential zoning, pairing of schools by grades, some busing and majority-to-minority transfers were employed to ensure distribution of both races through the school sys-

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tem. In areas where blacks were in a majority, whites were necessarily assigned to schools in which they would form a minority. All this has by no means happened in every school district in the South, but it constitutes the current practice of desegregation. Thus among the decrees recently enforced in Mississippi, the one applicable in Canton called for drawing an East-West attendance line through the city so that each school became about 70 percent black and 30 percent white. Elsewhere schools were paired to the same end.

It bears repeating that such measures were put into effect because the good faith of school authorities was in doubt, to say the least, and satisfactory evidence that the structure of legally enforced segregation had been eliminated was lacking. But whatever, and however legitimate, the reasons for imposing such requirements, the consequences have been perverse. Integration soon reaches a tipping point. If whites are sent to constitute a minority in a school that is largely black, or if blacks are sent to constitute something near half the population of a school that was formerly white or nearly all-white, the whites flee, and the school becomes all or nearly all-black; resegregation sets in, blacks simply changing places with whites. The whites move, within a city or out of it into suburbs, so that under a system of zoning they are in white schools because the schools reflect residential segregation; or else they flee the public school system altogether, into private and parochial schools.

It is not very fruitful to ask whether the whites behave as they do because they are racists, or because everybody seeks in the schools some sense of social, economic, cultural group identity. Whatever one's answer, the whites do flee, or try to, whether in a Black Belt county where desegregation has been resisted for 16 years in the worst of faith and for the most blatant of racist reasons, or in Atlanta, where in recent years, at any rate, desegregation has been implemented in the best of faith, or in border cities such as Louisville, St. Louis, Baltimore or Washington, DC, where it was implemented in good faith 15 years ago, or in Northern cities where legal segregation has not existed in over half a century. It is feckless to ask whether this should happen. The questions to ask are whether there is any way to prevent the whites' fleeing, or whether there are gains sufficient to offset the flight of the whites in continuing to press the process of integration.

To start with the second question, a negative answer seems obvious. What is the use of a process of racial integration in the schools that very often produces, in absolute numbers, more black and white children attending segregated schools than before the process was put into motion? The credible disestablishment of a legally enforced system of segregation is essential, but it ought to be possible to achieve it without driving school systems past the tipping point of resegregation – and perhaps this, without coming right out and saying so, is what the Nixon Administration has been trying to tell us. Thus in Canton, Mississippi, a different zoning scheme would apparently have left some all-black and all-white schools, but still put about thirty-five percent of black pupils in schools with whites.

We live by principles, and the concrete expression in practice of the principles we live by is crucial. *Brown v. Board of Education* held out for us the principle that it is wrong and ultimately evil to classify people invidiously by race. We would have mocked that principle if we had allowed the South to wipe some laws formally off its books, and then continue with segregation as usual, through inertia, custom, and the application of private force. But substantial, concrete changes vindicating the principle of the *Brown* case were attainable in the South without at the same time producing the absurd result of resegregation.

This argument assumes, however, that the first of the two questions posed above is also to be answered in the negative. Is there, in truth, no way to prevent resegregation from occurring? Approaching the problem as one of straight feasibility, with no normative implications, one has to take account of an important variable. It is relatively simple to make flight so difficult as to be just about impossible for relatively poor whites in rural areas in the South. There is little residential segregation in these areas, and there is no place to move to except private schools. State and local governments can be forbidden to aid such private schools with tuition grants paid to individual pupils, and the Supreme Court has so forbidden them. Private schools can also be deprived of federal tax exemption unless they are integrated, and a federal court in the District of Columbia has at least temporarily so deprived them. They can be deprived of state and local tax aid as well. Lacking any state support, however indirect, for private schools, all but well-to-do or Catholic whites in the rural and small-town South will be forced back into the public schools, although in the longer run, we may possibly find that what we have really done is to build in an incentive to residential segregation, and even perhaps to substantial population movement into cities.

On a normative level, is it right to require a small, rural and relatively poor segment of the national population to submit to a kind of schooling that is disagreeable to them (for whatever reasons, more or less unworthy), when we do not impose such schooling on people, in cities and in other regions, who would also dislike it (for not dissimilar reasons, more or less equally worthy or unworthy?)* This normative issue arises because the feasibility question takes on a very

* For instance a UPI dispatch from Oklahoma City dated January 20 as follows:

"Mrs. Yvonne York, mother of a 14-year-old boy taken into custody for defying a federal desegregation order, said today she will take the case to the Supreme Court. US District Judge Luther Bohanon last week ordered the Yorks to enroll their son Raymond at Harding Junior High in compliance with desegre-

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different aspect in the cities. Here movement to residentially segregated neighborhoods or suburbs is possible for all but the poorest whites, and is proceeding at a rapid pace. Pursuit of a policy of integration would require, therefore, pursuit of the whites with busloads of inner-city Negro children, or even perhaps with trainloads or helicopter-loads, as distances lengthen. Very substantial resources would thus be needed. They have so far nowhere been committed, in any city.

One reason they have not is that no one knows whether the enterprise would be educationally useful or harmful to the children, black and white. Even aside from the politics of the matter, which is quite a problem in itself, there is a natural hesitancy, therefore, to gamble major resources on a chase after integration, when it is more than possible that the resources would in every sense be better spent in trying to teach children how to read in place. Moreover, and in the long view most importantly, large-scale efforts at integration would almost certainly be opposed by leading elements in urban Negro communities.

Polls asking abstract questions may show what they will about continued acceptance of the goal of integration, but the vanguard of black opinion, among intellectuals and political activists alike, is oriented more toward the achievement of group identity and some group autonomy than toward the use of public schools as assimilationist agencies. In part this trend of opinion is explained by the ineffectiveness, the sluggishness, the unresponsiveness, often the oppressiveness of large urban public school systems, and in part is bespeaks the feeling shared by so many whites that the schools should, after all, be an extension of the family, and that the family ought to have a sense of class and cultural identity with them. And so, while the courts and HEW are rezoning and pairing Southern schools in the effort to integrate them, Negro leaders in Northern cities are trying to decentralize them, accepting their racial character and attempting to bring them under community control. While the courts and HEW are reassigning faculties in Atlanta to reflect the racial composition of the schools and to bring white teachers to black pupils and black teachers to white ones, Negro leaders in the North are asking for black principals and black teachers for black schools.

Where we have arrived may be signaled by a distorted mirror image that was presented in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville decentralized experimental school district in New York during the teachers' strikes of the fall of 1968. A decade earlier, black children in Little Rock and elsewhere in the South were escorted by armed men through white mobs to be taught by white teachers. In Ocean Hill-Brownsville in 1968, white teachers had to be escorted by armed men through black mobs to teach black children.

Can we any longer fail to acknowledge that the federal government is attempting to create in the rural South conditions that cannot in the foreseeable future be attained in large or medium urban centers in the South or in the rest of the country? The government is thus seen as applying its law unequally and unjustly, and is, therefore, fueling the politics of George Wallace. At the same time, the government is also putting itself on a collision course with the aspirations of an articulate and vigorous segment of national Negro leadership. Even if we succeed at whatever cost, in forcing and maintaining massively integrated school systems in parts of the rural South, may we not find ourselves eventually dismantling them again at the behest of blacks seeking decentralized community control?

There must be a better way to employ the material and political resources of the federal government. The process of disestablishing segregation is not quite finished, and both HEW and the courts must drive it to completion, as they must also continually police the disestablishment. But nothing seems to be gained, and much is risked or lost, by driving the process to the tipping point of resegregation. A prudent judgment can distinguish between the requirements of disestablishment and plans that cannot work, or can work only, if at all, in special areas that inevitably feel victimized.

There are black schools all over the country. We don't really know what purpose would be served by trying to do away with them, and many blacks don't want them done away with. Energies and resources ought to go into their improvement and, where appropriate, replacement. Energies and resources ought to go into training teachers, and into all manner of experimental attempts to improve the quality of education. The involvement of cohesive communities of parents with the schools is obviously desired by many leaders of Negro opinion. It may bear educational fruit, and is arguably an inalienable right of parenthood anyway. Even the growth of varieties of private schools, hardly integrated, but also not segregated, and enjoying state support through tuition grants for blacks and whites alike, should not be stifled, but encouraged in the spirit of an unlimited experimental search for more effective education. Massive school integration is not going to be attained in this country very soon, in good part because no one is certain that it is worth the cost. Let us, therefore, try to proceed with education.

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gation rulings. The boy had been enrolled at Taft Junior High a few blocks from his home. Harding is four miles from his home. Raymond was taken into custody yesterday by federal marshals when Mrs. York tried to enroll him at Taft. He was detained for a few hours." A city councilman is quoted as saying, "The people of Oklahoma are fed up with forced busing and federal court orders running our schools. We demand an end to this madness."

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It's Not a Myth

Arms Profiteering

by Victor Perlo

Part of the domestic pacification program is the attempt to convince us that nobody makes a financial killing out of our soaring wartime tax load. For example, not too long ago a Defense Department-financed outfit, the Logistics Management Institute, got considerable publicity with a study purporting to show low defense profits. But sophisticated people could easily identify this in-house propaganda. And it was followed by sensational reports of billions in "cost overruns" on weapons systems, climaxed by the recent firing of an Air Force official, Arthur Ernest Fitzgerald, who persisted in exposing the waste and profiteering.

Now, however, we have a seeming refutation of the war profiteering charge from a presumably disinterested source, George E. Berkley, a political scientist at Northeastern University, who in *The New Republic* of December 20, 1969, drew us a picture of sharply declining military profits during Vietnam War years. Mr. Berkley's try is no better than the others. Here's why:

1. He leaves out the Big-Five contractor with the best profit record. The Big Five Pentagon contractors in fiscal 1969 were Lockheed, General Electric, General Dynamics, McDonnell Douglas, and United Aircraft. Berkley uses four of these, and mentions Douglas, not the merged successor, McDonnell Douglas, though we have comparative figures for the entire period.

2. He picks the wrong year to show the effects of the Vietnam War on profits. The first year of a war buildup always shows the most dramatic profit rise, at least on paper – cf. 1941 in World War II, 1950 in the Korean War. By comparing 1965, the first year of the Vietnam War, with 1968, Berkley omits the main profit increase of this war.

3. He uses "per share earnings" instead of dollar net income, which results in downward distortions as a result of continued issuance of additional stock for options, stock dividends, acquisitions, etc.

4. His most "dramatic" earnings decline (Lockheed's), is simply a gross misstatement of the 1968 per-share figure. Berkley cites a net earnings for Lockheed of $1.64 per share in 1968, compared with $4.89 in 1965. But the actual figure as reported in Moody's Industrial Manual, was $3.95 in 1968 compared with $4.65 in 1965.

Berkley attributes much of the alleged decline in war profits to McNamara's tight management. For proper comparison I have tabulated profits of the Big Five in 1960, the last year before McNamara; 1964, the last year before the Vietnam War, but after considerable buildup; and 1968, the latest full year for which statistics are complete. I used company reports as presented in Moody's.

The combined net income of the five companies increased from $137 million in 1960 to $395 million in 1964 and $587 million in 1968. The combined stockholders' equity increased from $2376 million in 1960 to $3036 million in 1964 and $4107 million in 1968. If we omit General Electric, the largest of the five, and the one with the largest proportion of civilian business, the trend for the remaining four is even more favorable. The statistics are shown in the table on page 24.

The increases in profits and property values exceed the increases over the same period in gross national product, national wealth, the military budget, corporate profits as a whole, or prices.

The record of the new armament-based conglomerates is still more dramatic. LTV (seventh among Pentagon contractors in 1968) increased net income from $4 million in 1964 to $36 million in 1968; net worth from $25 million to $104 million. Textron (16th on the list) increased profits from $22 million in 1964 to $74 million in 1968, and net worth from $116 million to $462 million. Comparable 1960 figures aren't available for these two companies. Litton Industries (21st among Pentagon contractors) increased net from $7 million in 1960 to $30 million in 1964 and $58 million in 1968. Its net worth went up from $51 million in 1960 to $155 million in 1964 and $597 million in 1968.

Berkley attributes Douglas' troubles in 1966-67, which led to the McDonnell merger, to the effects of military business. But it is common knowledge that Douglas' losses then, like Lockheed's and General Dynamics' huge losses a few years earlier, were in civilian planes. If one may generalize, they all tried to get away with the same grossly wasteful practices that paid off in military business.

Similarly, Mr. Ling's operation is in the deep red because the methods which worked in the Texan's defense production lost hundreds of millions when tried on his steel industry acquisition, Jones & Laughlin.

Berkley cites the customary arms-makers' "evidence" of a lower-than-average profit rate by taking

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profits as a percentage of sales. But it is well known that a large part, and often a major part of the fixed capital, as well as many billions of working capital, are supplied by the government.

Economist Robert J. Gordon, in the June 1969 *American Economic Review* lead article, found "a $45 billion treasure chest of plant and equipment which the US government has purchased for the use of private firms since 1940, but which has never been counted as part of the private US capital stock. . . . Even today, 123,000 employees of private firms work in plants and laboratories owned by the Atomic Energy Commission, having a gross book value of over $8 billion. *Much of the aircraft and ordnance production for the Vietnam war has been carried on by private firms with government-owned plant and equipment.* And, similarly, almost all of the construction, testing and firing of rockets in the US space program has been performed by private contractors in government-owned facilities. *In addition, the production of commercial aircraft is carried on partially through the use of government-financed equipment.*" [Italics added.]

Similarly, much of the working capital of armament contractors is supplied by the government in the form of progress payments, and this practice has increased immensely during the Vietnam War. In 1960 Lockheed carried $237 million of inventories, against which it had received $61 million, or about one-fourth, in progress payments and advances. But by 1968 it carried $1382 million of inventories, against which it had received $1096 million, or four-fifths in progress payments and advances.

Also, the armament business is many-layered; a number of slices of profit are taken out of each dollar of Pentagon purchases.

One of the most striking examples is brought to mind by the recent award of more than $200 million in an initial contract to Western Electric as prime contractor on the Safeguard anti-missile system, for which President Nixon fought so hard. The American Telephone and Telegraph manufacturing subsidiary inherited this business from the old Nike program. Western Electric did only one-fifth of the work on the Nike missiles in its own shops. The rest was subcontracted, mainly to the "second-tier" firm, Douglas, which passed on four-fifths of its work to "third-tier" subcontractors.

The main operation of Douglas and Western Electric was in their billing departments, where liberal profit markups were added onto the bills submitted by lower-tier manufacturers. Western Electric finally submitted the total bills, with all the layers of profit padding, to the Pentagon.

Western Electric did actual work of $276.9 million in its shops. To this, and to the four-times larger volume of work done by subcontractors, it added $82.4-million for general and administrative expenses and $112.5 million for profits. The combined addition of $194.9 million equalled 70.4 percent of the work done by Western Electric.

Obviously, there have been huge rates of profit on invested capital, the only standard that counts in the long run. The munitions industry economist, Murray Weidenbaum, who is very much of the Establishment – he is now Assistant Secretary of the Treasury – compared profit margins on sales and net worth for defense and nondefense industrial firms. He found the defense firms had 2.6 percent on sales, the nondefense 4.6 percent in 1962-65. But the former had a profit rate on net worth of 17.5 percent as compared with 10.6 percent for the latter. [*Hearings, Subcommittee on Economy in Government, Joint Economic Committee, November 1968, Part 2, Page 11.*]

Then there is the whole business of hidden profits, never reported on the books, which go into the pockets of the controlling stockholders in the big munitions firms, to the banks, lawyers and propagandists associated with them, to the hundreds of ex-generals and admirals employed to get them business, and to the swollen top bureaucracy and military-science executives of the armament firms.

Hidden profits run deep throughout American industry, for well-known tax reasons. They are especially large in the munitions industry, because of the lack of competition and the amiable relations with the Pentagon which permit soaking away large profits as "costs." The men of the Renegotiation Board try hard, and have recovered tens of millions. But budgetary and legal limitations restrict their recovery possibilities to a minor fraction of overcharges.

Admiral Rickover, the veteran battler for economy in procurement, testified last year before the House Appropriations Committee:

"Contractors are able to hide profits in their costs. . . . One large defense contractor reported a lump sum figure as subcontracted costs. Actually, the work was subcontracted to another division of the same company, and a 25-percent profit was hidden in the cost of the subcontracted work. Another contractor certified to a 20 percent general and administrative expense rate

Five Largest Pentagon Contractors
Net Income and Stockholders' Equity
1960, 1964, and 1968
(millions of dollars)

Company	Net Income			Stockholders' Equity		
	1960	1964	1968	1960	1964	1968
Lockheed	−43	45	44	103	239	371
General Electric	200	237	357	1,513	1,888	2,433
General Dynamics	−27	43	30	289	300	336
McDonnell Douglas	− 7*	41	95	182*	294	464
United Aircraft	14	29	61	289	315	503
Totals	137	395	587	2,376	3,036	4,107
Total excluding General Electric	−63	158	230	863	1,148	1,674

* Sum of figures for Douglas and McDonnell
Source: Moody's Industrial Manual, 1969 and 1966.

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and a three percent profit rate. . . . The government auditor determined that the true general and administrative expense rate was only 12 percent, so that the actual profit on the order was really 10 percent, instead of the three percent . . . certified."

A contractor, he reported, "may double a legitimate cost estimate without concern for the Truth-in-Negotiations Act if he attributes the doubling to 'judgment.'" The Admiral quotes Dr. Howard Wright's "Accounting for Defense Contracts" – a guide for contractors: "No cost is unallowable under fixed-price contracts." [*House Appropriations Committee Hearings, Fiscal Year 1970 Defense Appropriations, Page 825.*]

In short – write your own ticket. Between 1960 and 1968 the percentage of the value of contracts of this type increased from 57.4 percent to 77.6 percent of the total, according to the office of the Secretary of Defense, and various government studies have shown that they yield higher profits than the other "cost-plus" type. Incidentally, part of McNamara's unearned kudos for economy was based on his stress on the "fixed-price-incentive" type contract.

As indicated above, much of the hidden profits is stashed away under the "general and administrative" category. Between 1960 and 1967 Lockheed's cost of sales increased 71 percent, while its general, administrative, engineering and development expense increased 175 percent. Rickover gave five examples, in a 1968 hearing, of the difference between reported profit and actual profit, as uncovered by the incomplete and relatively rare government audits:

Contractor	Profit Reported	Actual Profit by Government Audit
A	4.5	10.0
B	12.5	19.5
C	11.1	16.9
D	2.0	15.0
E	21.6	32.7

What about the trend of profit rates during the Vietnam war? A General Accounting Office study showed that in 1966 the rate of profit on Pentagon business averaged 26 percent higher than in 1959-63. A Defense Department "refutation" of this study showed an increase in the profit rate of "only" 22 percent.

Mr. Berkley makes much of the recent decline in stock market prices of armament firms. Of course. Their stocks zoom at the beginning of a war, and drop drastically as the belief spreads that the war is coming to an end. If the military-industrial complex has its way, and armament contracts are stabilized at present levels, and then start up again, there will undoubtedly be a fresh upturn in prices of these stocks – and the upturn will take place well before the general public is aware of the next big surge in munitions profits.

Berkley exaggerates the extent to which the munitions firms have switched to civilian work, by giving the percentage of their backlogs in civilian business. Commercial plane orders are placed years ahead for popular models. But military contracts are placed only for a relatively short period, even when the program is effectively scheduled out for many years. Thus a company may have 80 percent of its backlog in commercial planes, but do more than 50 percent of its business for the military.

The latest example of how the armament contractors are "running away" from military business was the bitter struggle between McDonnell-Douglas and North American for the F-15 – the largest aircraft program initiated in years. McDonnell gambled $10 million of its own funds and $20 million of Air Force funds in research for it; while North American, the loser, sank $20 million into it. "McDonnell Flies High" . . . "McDonnell Will Move Quickly to Slice F-15 Pie With Subs" – headlined *Metalworking News*. "NAR to Keep Punching" was the lead on another article. A company spokesman admitted "disappointment. . . . Our military aircraft expertise is now being concentrated on another competition for a new aircraft, the B-1 bomber."

Not, note well, a substitute civilian program. The trade paper commented that North American's "steadily declining sales in this field [i.e. the military] have become a serious drain on its over-all profit picture," and quoted a West Coast financial analyst as saying: "If North American loses out on the B-1, they'll slide right down the Kazoo."

I do not consider the armament manufacturers the decisive force getting us into wars, but they play their part. Now we have the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation acting as wedgemaker for an Air Force attempt to set up a base in Singapore by establishing a major repair and maintenance base there, which "among other things" will "service United States military aircraft from all over Asia." The need for the private business entry is because, "in the present mood of congressional and public disaffection with United States military involvements overseas, it is thought quite likely that the Defense Department is not eager to show too keen an interest in Singapore. However, a number of senior American military officers . . . have been paying discreet visits to Singapore over the past few months" (*New York Times*, December 2, 1969).

In contrast, Berkley ends his article with a pollyanna picture of "the aerospace industry . . . tooling up for a peacetime world of the 1970s," the defense contractors becoming "a less troublesome element in American society," and "through sheer greed" joining the demand for a curtailment in defense spending.

Unfortunately, life is never so simple. Supporters of a nonmilitary priority still have powerful opponents in the profiteers from armaments. It will take continued efforts, against the resistance of military contractors, to assure the end of the war in Asia and a major reduction in the $80 billion Pentagon budget.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

The Milky Way
(UM)

Not much in art is more pleasant than the sight of an old artist continuing to grow. Most old artists – even great ones – repeat, or lose their creative vigor without losing their need to work, or maunder, or quit. But some keep growing almost as if their previous careers had led purposefully to their last years – for instance, Verdi, Ibsen, and Yeats. Equality of stature aside, this is what seems to be happening with Luis Buñuel. He is now seventy and has announced his retirement more than once but has kept working; and of his last three films, all made since 1965, two are the best Buñuel that I know. The exception is *Belle de Jour*, which though it was sumptuous, showed his old weakness for aggrandized sensation masquerading as meaning. But the 42-minute film made the year before that, *Simon of the Desert*, is a masterly little work of religious irony and religious spirit; and now comes another religious film, *The Milky Way*, which is even better. It is another parable of Christianity, but it is free of Christ-parallels (*Nazarin*), of sterile and protracted allegory (*The Exterminating Angel*), of shallow Evil-as-travail-toward-Good (*El*). The structure of this new film is taut and well-modeled, the interplay between idea and image is delightful, the whole work is funny and bitter and *privately* devout from beginning to end.

In essence, *The Milky Way* is a symbolic history of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe, told in terms of its progress through heresies and schisms. (A postscript guarantees that every theological reference in the film is exact.) The title itself is a kind of celestial pun: the constellation that we call the Milky Way is also known in Europe, it seems, as the Road of St. James. Two present-day tramps, a young man and an old, are taking that road on earth. They start from Paris on foot to visit the tomb of the Apostle James in Spain at Santiago de Compostela (St. James of the Field of Stars). They are just tramps, not particularly religious, and their choice of destination seems more happenstance than zeal. En route they meet a number of odd people and are involved in a lot of strange incidents, some of which take place in earlier historical periods and all of which they accept without amazement, simply with varying degrees of interest. Each of these encounters dramatizes an important heresy or theological dispute in Church history, and almost all of them are handled wittily. One instance out of many: the tramps see a fierce duel betwen two eighteenth-century gentlemen, but it is not an affair of honor or the heart; one duellist is a Jansenist, the other a Jesuit, and as they lunge and parry, they exchange arguments about the nature of divine grace.

Interwoven with the story of the tramps' pilgrimage are Gospel episodes, with Jesus and Mary and the Apostles. The tramps never meet the Holy Family, but there is a near miss. At the end, on the outskirts of Santiago, the two men encounter a prostitute (who was prophesied to them), and she tells them that the town is empty of pilgrims because the body in the crypt has been proved to be the heretic Priscillian, not St. James. So instead of proceeding into town, they take the woman into the woods to frolic with her. The camera pans from them to two blind men moving through the same woods who soon meet Jesus and his disciples. Jesus restores their sight "according to their faith." The point is obvious. The tramps are merely amiable earthly travelers and "see" nothing; the two blind men have faith and "see" Jesus, who gives them back their earthly eyes. But the point is made painlessly.

In sheerly cinematic terms the film is as well made as Buñuel's pictures have often – not always – been. Occasionally he still lets people walk out of shots, leaving us to stare for a second at empty places where the action *was*; and occasionally there is a meaningless emphasis (like a close shot of the wheels of a railroad train arriving in Tours). But for the most part there is discretion, the sense of a mordant eye, and the overall feeling of flow that we get even in lesser films like *Viridiana* and *The Diary of a Chambermaid*. The color photography of Christian Matras is lovely, and Buñuel has made special use of it in the costuming of the Gospel scenes. Jesus and the others in those episodes are all dressed in solid but soft colors, suggesting what the colors in Piero della Francesa's frescoes at Arezzo might have been before they faded and contrasting with the complicated chromatic patterns of the latter-day clothes. Buñuel has not forgotten to include some of his hallmarks: a dwarf; a close-up of metal penetrating flesh – here we get spikes through the hands of a nun begging to be crucified, instead of the customary knife. Even these matters, though, are handled with unusual restraint.

But the superiority of this film, like that of *Simon*, is not in the filming as such but in the script. (Incidentally, the cast of *Simon* includes two palmers – pilgrims – from Santiago de Compostela, so the subject has evidently been haunting Buñuel's mind.) It is Buñuel the author, more than the *auteur*, who has made *The Milky Way* the fine work that it is. He has written or collaborated on the scripts of most of his films, and he has worked in three languages – Spanish, French, and English. This picture is in French, and he had the assistance of Jean-Claude Carrière, who collaborated on some of his previous films made in France. After one has enumerated the various elements in the script of wit, slyness, compassion, and human bewilderment, there is left the central and controlling vision; and the source of that vision is to me the most interesting and revealing aspect of the film. It is the artistic concept with which Buñuel began his film career, from which he has often divagated, and to which he has recently returned to use with a new depth and power – the concept of Surrealism.

Some years ago Buñuel said:

> It was Surrealism which showed me that life has a moral direction which man cannot but follow. For the first time I understood that man was not free. I already believed in the total liberty of man, but in Surrealism I found a discipline to follow. It was a great lesson in my life. It was also a great step forward into the marvelous and the poetic.

That dialectic between liberty and discipline, resulting in a synthesis that is "marvelous and poetic," has an analogue for Buñuel, I think, in the dialectic between God and Church, the syn-

(*Continued on page 40*)

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Charles Thomas Samuels: Bellow on Modernism

Mr. Sammler's Planet by Saul Bellow

(Viking; $6.95)

Mr. Sammler's Planet is middling Bellow: better than *Henderson, Herzog,* and *Dangling Man,* though it shares with those books defects in dramatic or conceptual plausibility; not so good as *Augie March, The Victim,* and *Seize the Day,* whose palpable urban setting and memorable grotesques it also shares. But even middling Bellow approaches the zenith of contemporary fiction. Who else gives us so much vitality and such deep thought, such pleasure in an imagined world and so much concern for the one we inhabit?

This last quality makes Bellow more than a novelist, places him in the company of our major writers, all of them men who would tell us how to live. In his Hopwood lecture on "The Future of Fiction," he proclaimed that "the imagination is looking for new ways to express virtue"; and expressing virtue negatively, by exposing the ways in which men evade it, has always been his primary goal. Therefore, Bellow's characters are usually egomaniacal enemies of human community whom the author, sometimes through a lone hero, relentlessly criticizes.

Because the action in Bellow typically proves the presence of vice while the rhetoric argues for virtue, none of his books (except *Seize the Day*) is fully coherent or convincing. Comic caricatures and scintillating ideas abound to a degree that makes Bellow the only contemporary novelist who entertains and informs in equal measure; and it therefore seems ungrateful to point out that the two halves of his appeal do not cooperate. I don't enjoy having to make the point again about *Mr. Sammler's Planet* – an intelligent, beautifully written book – but its imperfect connection between action and idea invites criticism.

Bellow's hero and *raisonneur* is a refugee intellectual with one good eye, survivor both of early 20th century optimism (via H. G. Wells) and of the Nazi holocaust that exposed its pretensions. Resettled in America during the '60s, Mr. Sammler is distressed to learn that madness and solipsism continue to thrive, that modern life has brought not the progress envisioned by Wells but a new cult of unbridled egotism, validated by modernist thought. Sammler is a traditionalist, a believer in institutions and constraints, and their apparently universal breakdown makes him doubt if the world he knows – his planet – has much future.

As the story begins, he accidentally sees a black pickpocket working an uptown bus. To his surprise, he finds himself fascinated. Later, he discovers crime in his own family. Shula, his middle-aged batty daughter steals an Indian scholar's manuscript about moon-colonization because she thinks it essential to her father's research. Compounding this disillusionment, Sammler is begged by Wallace Gruner, son of a dying relative who had been Sammler's benefactor, to discover the whereabouts of money he believes the old man to have illicitly earned and then hidden. In short, a wise survivor of mankind's worst brutality is confronted by vice and selfishness close to home, thereby confirming his doubts about the whole species, and inspiring a flood of rumination on which the novel moves.

The ruminations are splendid, but they are insufficiently warranted by the behavior of Sammler's relatives who mostly parody vice. Shula does cause a great deal of trouble, but nothing that can be taken seriously. Moreover, her motives are sweetly filial (though Bellow unconvincingly solicits our sense of outrage by darkly intimating she stole the ms. to meet its author). The paragraph in which Bellow links Shula with a more obviously demonic pickpocket suggests inflation of a peccadillo:

> . . . even Shula, though a scavenger or magpie, had never actually stolen before. Then suddenly she too was like the Negro pickpocket. From the black side, strong currents were sweeping over everyone. Child, black, redskin – the unspoiled Seminole against the horrible Whiteman. Millions of civilized people wanted oceanic, boundless, primitive, neck-

Songmy

There is no road away from Songmy;
No quiet, easy highway, slow retreat
"Do you hear the children?"
Nor well-hewn paths beneath the trees;
No silent, secret exits
"The children! Do you hear them?"
Innocent escapes
"Sergeant, do you hear the children?"
Departures
"Sergeant!"

There is no road away from Songmy;
No pleasant corridor,
Opened gate
"The children!"
For all roads go to Songmy
And all men
"Sergeant, do you hear the children?"
Theirs
And ours.

Michael H. Palter

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free nobility, experienced a strange release of galloping impulses and acquired the peculiar aim of sexual niggerhood for everyone.

Nor is sufficient cause given for this thumping denunciation by Wallace Gruner, whose zealous search for his father's cash causes him to burst the water pipe he suspects of being a hiding place, thereby farcically flooding the old man's house.

The book contains several other representatives of modern vice but, like Shula and Wallace, they are too comic, or their actions are too trivial to serve as adequate stimuli for Sammler's powerful responses. More acceptable as a representative of chaos and dark night is the pickpocket, for after learning that Sammler has been watching him, he corners the old man in an apartment house lobby and by forcing Sammler to see his blackman's powerful penis, symbolically warns him of a potency that cannot easily be fought. Although this action is obtrusively meaningful, it does have a certain sinister effect that typfies the first part of the book, for which it provides a conclusion. But Bellow obscures the function of his one powerful embodiment of evil by showing that Sammler, the moralist, is obscurely attracted. This might be understood as the ironic appeal of wickedness even to the good, but the hero explicitly denies such an explanation. However, in a blatantly contrived scene near the end of the novel, Sammler saves the criminal's life when he is set upon by Sammler's friends. If the thief does stand for the imperious ego – which the novel consistently identifies with sex and crime – why isn't he condemned by Sammler, who overreacts against Shula and Wallace? And if the ego is admirable in special circumstances, why doesn't Bellow spell them out instead of falling back on that hoariest of primitivisms: the prepotent savage beyond morals? In a novel whose manner was less judgmental, whose symbolic dramatization of discursive ideas was less obviously intended, such intellectual obscurity would not be damaging. Here it is.

Bellow's representation of vice through trivial or ambiguous figures is matched by an equally unconvincing representation of good. Throughout the book, one character is judged by Sammler to exemplify virtue: Dr. Gruner, Wallace's father. To be sure, the man has characteristics admirable to Bellow: traditionalism and charity. But these are represented by occasional trips to Israel and his financial support of the Sammlers, phenomena no weightier than Shula's theft and Wallace's bad plumbing. Furthermore, like the pickpocket, Gruner is a crook. He made extra money performing illegal abortions, possibly for Mafia cronies.

The Advisers

Fine print gone dim,
The night's blind crone made much of her and him,
But they, not reading braille,
Awoke, at dawn, untutored still,

And pulled their weight
Across the fetid waters of the strait
Till stranded on the bar
Of time at last they saw that far

Was near. They said,
"Mirrored in us you'll find yourself." Dead,
I thought. A bad mistake
Ever to have come. Though that week,

And much later,
Reading between the lines in my own mirror,
I heard the clock persist,
As self-love does, dying to exist.

HOWARD MOSS

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Again, Bellow may be admired for representing the moral complexity of all persons, since no one is purely good or purely evil. But morally complex characters belong in novels where they are amply revealed objects of inherent interest – whereas Bellow's are symbolic grotesques rhetorically labelled – or in books whose theme is the mysterious human soul, whereas *Mr. Sammler's Planet* is fundamentally an argument against modernism and for tradition. It is therefore disconcerting to find that Bellow's embodiments of opposing values give these neither clear nor impressive form.

The clearest, most impressive things in the book are Sammler's monologues, performed with or without audience. Significantly, these are frequently surrounded by apologies (before beginning a long lecture, Sammler announces, "Excuse me, I am . . . heavy-hearted and talkative. . . ."), apologies that suggest Bellow's consciousness that Sammler is a thinly fabricated mask for his creator and that *Mr. Sammler's Planet* lives less powerfully as a novel than as an angry meditation on modern libertarianism, with interludes of action to sugarcoat the pill.

In fact, the pill required no sugarcoating sweeter than the delicious language in which Sammler delivers his opinions. Since there is as little difference between Sammler's language and that of his author as there is between their ideas, we can read the book as Bellow's personal testament, in which case it becomes intellectually fascinating. On madness:

> Madness makes interest. Madness is the attempted liberty of people who feel themselves overwhelmed by giant forces of organized control. Seeking the magic of extremes. Madness is a base form of the religious life.

On the wildness of selfhood:

> The idea of the uniqueness of the soul. An excellent idea. A true idea. But in these forms? In these poor forms? Dear God! With hair, with clothes, with drugs and cosmetics, with genitalia, with round trips through evil, monstrosity, and orgy, with even God approached through obscenities? How terrified the soul must be in this vehemence, how little that is really dear to it it can see in these Sadic exercises.

On neo-Freudianism:

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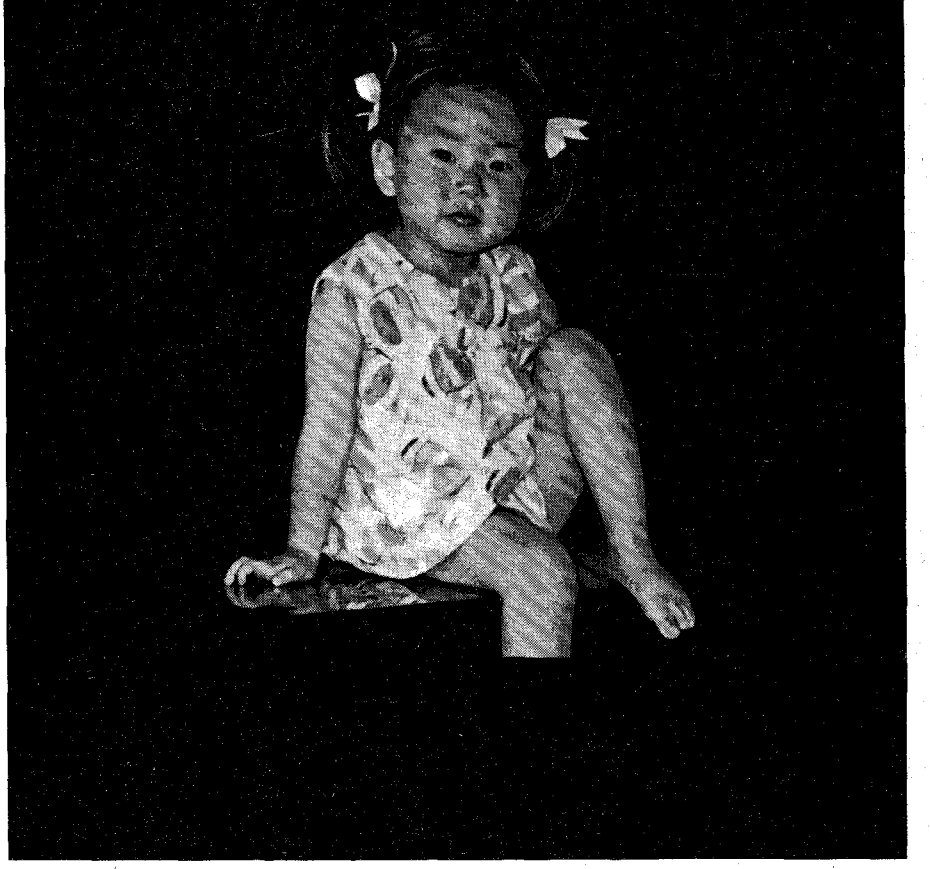

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> . . . what was it to be arrested in the stage of toilet training! What was it to be entrapped by a psychiatric standard (Sammler blamed the Germans and their psychoanalysis for this)! Who had raised the diaper flag? Who had made shit a sacrament? What literary and psychological movement was that?

And, in a less sublime mood, on hippies:

> These poor kids may have resolved to stink together in defiance of a corrupt tradition built on neurosis and falsehood . . . in their revulsion from authority they would respect no persons. Not even their own persons.

But the very dazzlement of Bellow's criticism, of which these are mere examples, makes lame his answer to the contemporary passion for overturned barricades and stormed outposts of experience. His negations are validated not by his plot and characters but by what we know of the real world; his affirmation is validated by nothing, is scarcely even asserted but rather exhaled as a kind of pious hope. "You certainly take a traditional line," Angela Gruner tells the hero in the last pages of the novel as it appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* (November & December, 1969). To this, Sammler replies, "But there are two traditions here. Yours is even older, I think. One has to do with the setting of limits, and the other doesn't recognize limits. Without limits you have monstrosity, always. Within limits? Well, within limits monsters also appear. But not inevitably."

Perhaps recognizing the weakness of this retort, Bellow eliminated it from the novel's current version. Now, Angela rebukes Sammler with his ignorance of the stresses of modern life, and the hero walks off feeling futile. But Bellow doesn't permit this sense of futility to last. At Gruner's deathbed, Sammler delivers the same speech as in the magazine, reasserting the claims of traditional restraints and duties.

In either version, Bellow shows himself incapable of presenting a convincing argument for his conservative position. Since its negative side is not proven by the plot or characters, this failure to be persuasively positive confirms the book as a sermon designed for the already converted. Such readers will find *Mr. Sammler's Planet* delightful. Others, I suspect, will find it provocative, entertaining, and ultimately frustrating.

Kenneth Burke: More Probes in the Same Spot

Counterblast
by Marshall McLuhan, designed by Harley Baker

(Harcourt, Brace & World; $6.50)

"To say that any technology or extension of man creates a new environment is a much better way of saying that the medium is the message." To this recent revision of the over-simplified slogan in McLuhan's *Understanding Media*, one can decisively say "amen." Indeed, not only is it an improvement, it is saying something quite different. And had McLuhan built his message thus rather than as he did, many of the half-truths with which he (so profitably!) cluttered his pages could have been avoided.

But precisely while at work on a review of his present offering, I also read his earlier book, *The Mechanical Bride: The Folklore of Industrialism* (originally published in 1951). The contrast between that work and *Counterblast* points up a development that struck me as interesting in it-

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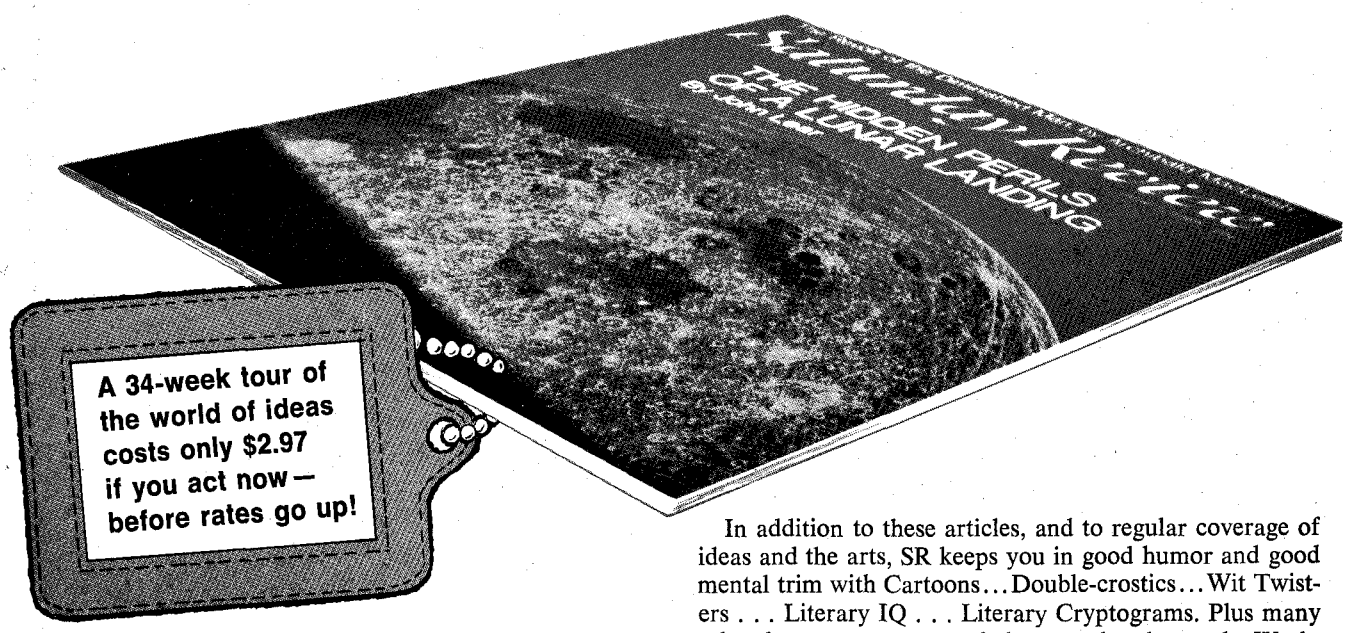

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self, without regard to the intrinsic merits or demerits of either. I'd call it a kind of "methodological conversion," and I'll try to trace briefly the sort of transformations I have in mind.

The Mechanical Bride reproduces many typical examples of advertising, along with a zealously adverse critique of such "poisonous bilge." We are given countless variations on the theme of the adman's demoralizing appeal to our stupidities and vices as a way of unloading a maximum of manufactured commodities in a mass market. The book strikes many effective and ingenious blows, though the ad tricks are usually so dismal that in the end the reader tires of even seeing them exposed and castigated. But the twist is this:

The earlier book is devoted to a relentless analysis of the various exhibits' *contents*, including their appeal to our "unconscious" motives. (McLuhan had not yet latched onto "subliminal," though he was on the way, when observing that popular images of the sleuth, businessman, and scientist were "subterranean.") However, at almost the mathematical center of the book, turning of a sudden from advertisements to *a quite different kind of example*, he says: "Mallarmé and Joyce refused to be distracted by the fashion-conscious sirens of content and subject matter and proceeded straight to the utilization of the universal forms of the artistic process itself." (Previously there had been a passing, punning reference to authors who, influenced by the technique of sales promotion, were "eager to sell their souls for a pot of message" – and thus was the slogan of *Understanding Media* a-borning. Also, we should recall that, whatever may have been Joyce's and Mallarmé's interest in the sheerly formal aspects of literature as a medium, their work was as notable for its contents as was that of an earlier master who doted on the thought of pure form, Flaubert. Nor should we confuse *artistic "form"* with McLuhan's *engineering* stress upon "medium.")

The Bride had been concerned exclusively with the products of the machine. McLuhan's later distinction between mechanical technology and electronic technology simply did not exist. In fact, the nearest adumbration of it that I could find is a glancing reference to "Professor Wiener's type of prospect that the electronic brain will certainly eliminate the ordinary man from the human scene."

But note what a radical shift of alignment can take place, once McLuhan postulates a critical cultural distinction between the kinds of business that are associated with *mechanical* technology and the kinds that are associated with *electronic* technology. The stress now was not upon the *contents* of the new electronic media (such as TV), but upon their nature and effects simply *as media*. Hence, whereas one might readily conceive of a tract that pursued TV commercials as relentlessly as McLuhan had pursued the "techniques of persuasion" typical of printed advertisements, now all was changed. Come the new dispensation, he summarily dismissed all criticism of TV's *contents*, whatever might be its "pot of message." Instead, the bare medium, the sheer TV electronic instrument itself, became the "message." Thanks to this shift, his own later message could become the darling of precisely such pitchmen as he had started out by despising. For instead of discussing the dismal contents of TV's typical "wasteland" wares, he could stress the medium itself as "subliminal" harbinger of the future. Add a touch of the "mythic," "apocalyptic" unction now going the rounds – and whereas he once wrote "headlines mean street sales," the converted version is "headlines are icons."

I must leave it for you to decide how such notable fields as chemistry and biology fit into a flat distinction between an earlier mechanical era and the emergent electronic one. Also, you must decide for yourself just what kind of bookkeeping we're in for when, after his mediumistic way of dismissing a concern with "content," he ended up by discovering that, in the New Age of electronics, we are all to become, above all, something so content-ridden as "information-gatherers."

In any case, *Counterblast* gives the mediumistic angle a different twist. In an intermediate contrivance, *The Medium as Massage: An Inventory of Effects*, McLuhan had teamed up with a collaborator who helped him restate his message by sandwiching it in among a batch of photographs (many of them quite interesting). This time

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for his repeat performance he has a collaborator who resorts to quite a range of typographical devices (including some upside down, some wrongly syllabified, some set backwards for reading in a mirror, some gnawed at, some spiralling, some Lilliputian, some Brobdingnagian, and others variously at odds). While many of these devices are interesting in themselves, when the message gets administered in this encapsulated manner there develops an unpleasant side-effect, a jumpiness that makes even a minimum of concentration difficult. Perhaps this is why after about 100 pages of such fare, the procedure is abandoned for a spell, and the exposition, in at least ocular continuity, weaves hyper-symptomatically among the media and their imputed effects. (The designer's jaggy manner would serve best, it seems to me, if a batch of aphorisms, each in a universe by itself, were to be assembled on a single page. Under such conditions, the greater the sense of discontinuity the better, as you went from one bit to another, in no fixed order.)

Yet in some respects this book is an improvement. For instance, it has eased up on the worthless (but catchy!) distinction between "hot" and "cool" media. Apparently, however, the distinction itself has become a fixity in the lingo of the sales priesthood, who seem to use it as synonymous with the distinction between "hard sell" and "soft sell." (As so applied, the terms would be misused, since they would involve differences of *content* rather than *medium*. For instance, since TV was labelled a "cool" medium, a "hot" commercial on TV would be impossible, quite as one could not play a thunderous fortissimo on a harpsichord.)

A second improvement may derive from the fact that, if McLuhan is to go on getting out books, it was only a question of time until printing would turn out not to be so obsolescent after all, since it better lends itself to certain kinds of analysis than do many other media.

But the more he tries to get his message "hotted up" with the aid of guileful collaborators skilled in other manners, the more his product gives the effect of cosmetics on a skin grown sallow. Yet about the edges of "blast" there flickers the sound of "blessed": beside the cruel cry to "Blast The Sports Page pantheon of pickled gods and archetypes & The Comic Strip upholder of HOMERIC CULTURE," there is the compensatory avowal (which I must quote without benefit of the designer's typographic prowess): "Bless Madison Avenue for Restoring the Magical Art of the Cavemen to SUBURBIA."

The improvements in *Counterblast* suggest that McLuhan may eventually temper his message in keeping with many of the excellent quotations which he assembled in *The Gutenberg Galaxy* and which he drove to excess when setting up shop on his own. He still transcends the distinction however, between "prove" and "probe," both from the Latin *probare*. "Proof" requires a considerable sense of continuity; "probing" can be done at random, with hit-and-run slogans or titles taking the place of sustained exposition. And in the medium of books, McLuhan with his "probing" has "perfected" a manner in which the non sequitur never had it so good.

Notable

The Death of the Past
by J. H. Plumb

(Houghton Mifflin Company; $5.00)

The professor of history at Christ's College, Cambridge, says that history has killed the past. Or, rather, the various pasts, all of them spurious. For Professor Plumb argues that, hitherto, people have always refashioned the past to suit them. The Popham family in England put an ark in their family tree; and "at one time twelve foreskins of Christ were being venerated, one in the Pope's own church of St. John Lateran." Washington Irving, apparently without irony, held that America should revise and rewrite human history, cancelling or confirming the judgment of past ages. And people are still at it. The Russians rewrite their history frequently, destalinizing and re-stalinizing it. Ghanians claim their forebears invented both the alphabet and the steam-engine, a claim Professor Plumb holds less arrogant than for a society with slave markets to have claimed the patent to liberty. However, Ghanians and Soviets notwithstanding, the forgery

the myth of the Judeo-Christian tradition

and other dissenting essays

by ARTHUR A. COHEN

Are Christians and Jews theological enemies? Is the so-called Judeo-Christian tradition a myth created by Christian guilt and Jewish neurosis?

Yes, the author of *The Natural and Supernatural Jew* says firmly. In this book, Mr. Cohen examines the myth, its uses and dishonesties. Some of the essays (like those on Toynbee and Thurston N. Davis, S.J.) are heated, others conciliatory and prophetic. A number have appeared in national magazines and stirred controversy. All are provocative and intellectually exciting

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of pasts is now a dead or dying trade. The techniques of the historian have destroyed all the fake pasts and must inevitably challenge pasts that are currently being invented. Unfortunately, historians are like art experts who have detected so many fake Rembrandts that they fear to pronounce any as genuine. The best Professor Plumb can do to identify a single genuine past is identify certain qualities of the human mind as having assisted the race out of the trees. Diligent inquiry reveals neither ark nor covenant.

Decent and Indecent
by Benjamin Spock

(McCall Publishing Co.; $5.95)

The good Dr. Spock is an encyclopedist. His baby book has been a success because it has everything in it, also well-indexed so that you can find what you need at three A.M. by candlelight with a hangover. His new book has something of the same flavor, though it is about grown-ups mostly. On page 104 he has a one-paragraph summary of US-Soviet relations since the Russian revolution. On 102 he covers the Black Power movement; on 188 he criticizes traditional pedagogy. These small items are not indexed as they would be in the baby book, but the general table of contents gives the reader a good idea of where to look for anything, and as preface to each of the five major sections, Dr. Spock provides further classificatory information. Watching a practical, common-sense mind at work on most of human behavior in two hundred pages has a certain fascination. The Doctor's capacity to encapsulate and to express clearly the encapsulated is genuinely remarkable. Also remarkable are the range of his knowledge and the general sanity of his opinion. But his sanity and his orderliness are also a bit terrifying. Why, one wonders, have all the world's specialists and scholars spent so much time on what is really so simple?

Fortunately the five general chapter headings display him as a man eccentric and missionary after all: "Where does Idealism come from?" "Problems of Sex and Sex-Role"; "Aggression and Hostility"; "The Psychology of Political Attitudes"; and "Education for What?" No grand classifier from the University of Chicago would have chosen *them*. Also, these categories conceal another subject, one dear to the Doctor: how to reconcile old-fashioned moral and social views with being a leader in a youth movement. On some subjects Dr. Spock is aggressively square:

> While I'm confessing I want to add that when writers sprinkle their sentences with obscene words that have no particular connection with the topic but are added for exclamatory effect, it alienates rather than impresses me.

History may record that Dr. Spock was better on diaper rash than on US-Soviet relations and obscenity, but he is quite refreshing on these subjects – and marvelously brief.

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Notes on Contributors

Charles Thomas Samuels, of Williams College, is the editor of A Casebook on Film *(Van Nostrand Reinhold).* Kenneth Burke's *criticism and poetry have been reissued by the University of California Press.* Michael Palter *is in the English department of the University of Massachusetts.*

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At the Still Point
by Mary Benson

(Gambit; $5.95)

Black men in South Africa live lives of oppression; according to Mary Benson so do some whites.

Anne, a troubled young journalist returns home to Johannesburg and her Liberal Party friends, searching for a sense of reality about her country. Gone for her are the days of banal cocktail chatter, idle afternoons interrupted only by tennis and a "sundowner." Reluctantly she goes to the Eastern Cape where scores of black Africans are being brought to trial for alleged sabotage; and there, her involvement with Matthew, the Afrikaner defense lawyer, develops into commitment and love. Together they fight the system while dodging the omnipresent Special Branch, by smuggling the accused over the border and aiding those already underground. Eventually Matthew is taken and Anne is left to "bear witness" alone.

Although the book is fictitious, it is based on recent facts which makes one wonder whether or not this is partly autobiographical. A prominent white lawyer did disappear underground in 1965. And Miss Benson left South Africa in 1966 – a political exile – who only last week as she testified before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, was bearing witness.

Money International
by Fred Hirsch

(Doubleday; $8.95)

Most people are content to believe the International Monetary Fund works, without inquiring how. Fred Hirsch, a senior adviser to the Fund and former financial editor of *The Economist* of London, has written a witty textbook for the curious minority. Professor Richard N. Cooper of Yale contributes an introductory essay stressing the American angle. International finance is a perpetual cliffhanger; General de Gaulle's long campaign to devalue the dollar ended instead in devaluation of himself and the franc. Now we're all waiting to see if the IMF gimmick of SDRs – "Special Drawing Rights" amounting to $3.4 billion a year of new money distributed among 104 countries, with the United States getting the biggest amount, $866,880,000 – will solve the "liquidity" problem, and also end the French complaint, that America's balance of payments deficit means France involuntarily lends money to Americans who buy up French industries. Mr. Hirsch traces balance of payments troubles back at least as far as the eighteenth century, when countries worried about exchanging gold for "apes and peacocks." His invaluable and entertaining book explores many conundrums, like why currencies under speculative pressure weaken on Thursdays and Fridays, and why President Eisenhower thought John F. Kennedy was robbing David Eisenhower.

The Bamboo Bed
by William Eastlake

(Simon & Schuster; $6.50)

Fiction may on occasion explicate mysterious facts, like Evelyn Waugh's *Black Mischief* on African affairs, nasty as that book is. *The Bamboo Bed* perhaps says more about the Vietnam

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atrocities, and the war itself, than all the photographs, interviews, news copy, and trial transcripts. Surrealistic, heavily symbolic, extravagant in its tone of parody (of Hemingway, Heller, Faulkner, even Eastlake himself), the episodic, rhapsodic text provides a strange landscape without boundary, a front all about one. And with its characters shifting identity and alliance it is modern and cold as indeterminacy theory. Yet astonishingly, possibly because of the war setting, it is finally unaffected, even, like Remarque and Crane on war, sentimental, gentle, delicate.

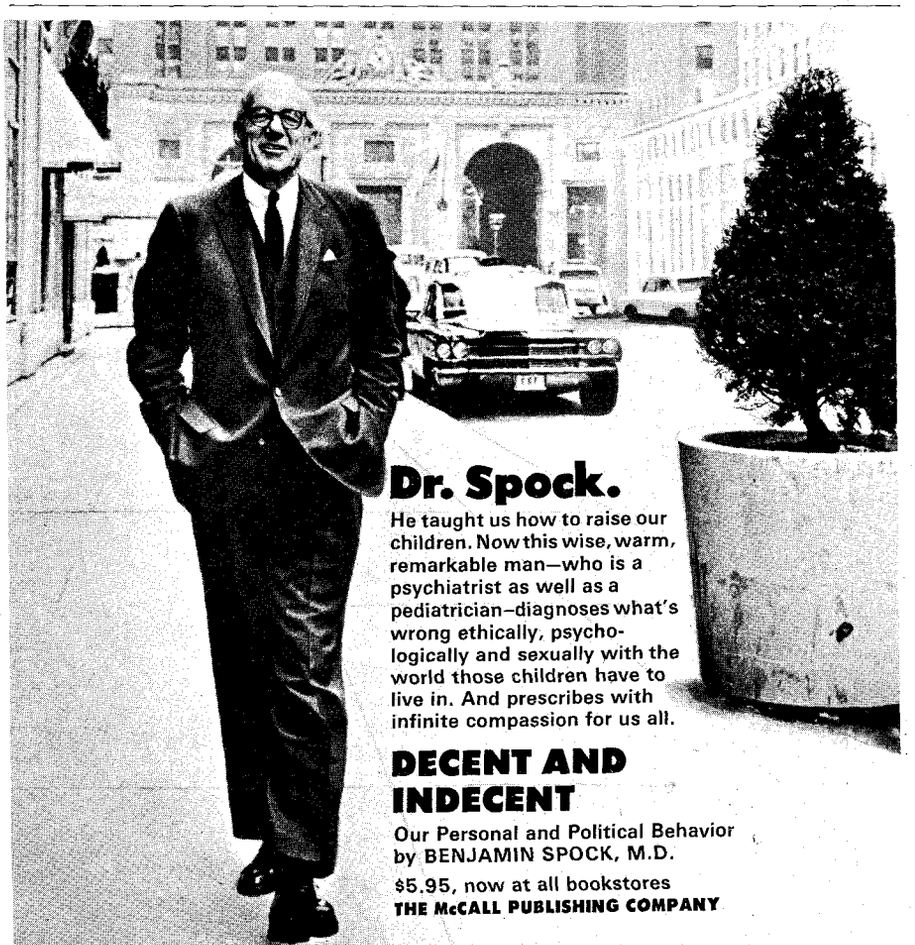
Equilibrium
by Tonino Guerra

(Walker and Company; $4.95)

The author of the script for *Blow-up* and other films tries his hand at a novel, and it comes out mighty like a film. A modern film. It is full of quick, imagistic shifts – shots from all over the mind of the loner hero. The shots have two primary locales – a concentration-camp past where the hero watches his fellow prisoners shot at nightly by a drunken commandant, and an empty-house present where the hero lives in progressive alienation from business, wife, mistress and why not call it objective reality. In the old days the basic situation would have produced an interior monologue a la Joyce, Proust. Here the cinematic conditioning puts picture before thought or word – with sometimes excitingly eerie effects. Effects are effects, though, and after a few frames elder readers may begin to look for the kind of bookish rationale of effects that they are used to. For example, when the hero begins confusing his mistress with his wife in his mind, an old-time novelist would have gratified the gods of order by "thinking" this confusion through. Mr. Guerra photos it through:

> . . . not only did the two start getting more and more alike, but other women who I saw in bars, or caught sight of, say, at the wheel of a car held up at the traffic light, would remind me in some way or other of my wife and Emma. The mini-skirts may have had something to do with it, and also the heavy eye-makeup.

Good leads for some quick shots there, but novelistically it's a throw-away.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Selected Literary Essays
by C. S. Lewis

(Cambridge University Press; $7.95)

C. S. Lewis's friend, Professor J. R. R. Tolkien, weaved fantasies about gnomes. Lewis wove sci-fi fantasies about the Devil. He thought the modern world was damned. "Somewhere between us and the Waverley Novels, somewhere between us and *Persuasion*, the chasm runs." Worse: "If the barbarism on which we now seem to be entering is to prove the last illness, the death-bed of humanity, we must not rail at those who are its victims. Let us only say, adapting [Sir Walter] Scott's own words, 'Poor curs. I dare say they have their distresses'. And indeed they have." This more than Swiftian gloom, which Lewis's best-selling trilogy about the powers of darkness and the silent planet spells out in detail, scarcely prepares one for the cheerfulness and urbanity of most of those essays, which Lewis wrote between 1932 and 1962 and Walter Hooper has collected and edited. Lewis was Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English Literature at the University of Cambridge. The tone of most of the essays is that of a Cambridge dining club, with the port wine being passed around. The spectrum is wide: the Bible's non-influence on famous writers' styles; four-letter words; Shelley, Dryden, Kipling, Rider Haggard; High and Low Brows. An oddity is that there seem to have been queer gaps in Lewis's reading for pleasure – Lloyd Osbourne, but not George Orwell; D. H. Lawrence, but not Aldous Huxley; Chesterton but not Belloc; Auden but not Spender. No Wells, and no Shaw, or at least never mentioned here. But Lewis's little cultural tourmobile is well worth boarding though it misses some monuments. A man who makes interesting even an inquiry into alliterative metre is worth knowing.

The Colonial Heritage of Latin America
by S. J. and B. H. Stein

(Oxford; $5.00 cloth, $1.50 paper)

The Latin Americans
by Victor Alba

(Praeger; $10.00)

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. says most North Americans don't give a damn about Latin America. These two books help

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explain why. Actually Latin America is a very fascinating place. But North Americans tend to be interested only in places that have problems they think they can solve. Latin America has problems, all right, but none for which North Americans are likely to have solutions. Also, it's disgustingly large – Brazil is bigger than the United States, and Mexico City is as far from Buenos Aires as London from New Delhi. The Latins will have to try to solve their own problems and may fail, or just substitute other problems. Even if they get off their present caudillo-and-peasants course, Victor Alba says their ambition is to be like rich Americans.

Stein and Stein dredge up the Spanish and Portuguese backgrounds and make plain that the two colonizing countries are directly responsible for many contemporary Latin American ills, the way American Italians have bequeathed the Negroes in cities a heroin habit. The Steins also blow the cover of Latin American racism. Far from being color unconscious, Latin America's evolutionary slogan has been "survival of the whitest."

Victor Alba's chapter headings ask a lot of how-why-what-where questions, and he answers them with a lot of factual material that's interesting without being specially illuminating. Latin America will survive somehow, despite even its population explosion. It will continue to be fascinating. And it will always have grave problems. Those who find such a state of affairs insupportable should try to forget Latin America. As Schlesinger says, most North Americans manage.

Correspondence

Israel

Sirs:

The January 24 *New Republic* carried an editorial on "The US and Israel," which disturbed me greatly.

Any person of good will wants peace in the Middle East; and so does Israel. The Arabs want peace at the price of the destruction of Israel. Israel will not permit itself to be destroyed. This is the basic issue from which all else follows – boundaries, refugees, armaments.

Senator Fulbright for years has been cold to Israel. You should know that. How can you cite his approval of Sec. Rogers' remarks as indicating their being well balanced and sensible? Would you rely upon Fulbright on integrated schools in Arkansas, poverty funds and the general issue of civil rights?

Your opening paragraph about Mrs. Golda Meir not being "empty-handed" is either based on ignorance or simply malicious. Aren't you aware how difficult it has been for Israel to obtain planes from the US and of their delivery, for a good price, in dribs and drabs? Does Libya need 50 Mirage fighters or even 5, for that matter? The hundreds of planes delivered by Russia to Egypt and other countries don't enter into the total picture?

What's your proposal? That Israel commit suicide? You say that "nobody has come up with a workable peace plan." O.K. What's your suggestion? Rogers' statement? Everyone is aware that there has been a change of policy towards Israel on the part of the present Administration. The question is, "How far does it go?"

When Jerusalem was under Jordanian control, access to the holy places was denied to Jews and the areas were desecrated. Nobody protested and insisted upon internationalization of Jerusalem. Today these places are under Israeli control; everyone, including the Arabs, has free access to them. What's all the noise about internationalization? To satisfy the Arabs?

Apparently Israel and the Jew obtain sympathy when being destroyed. Now that 2½ million Jews have performed

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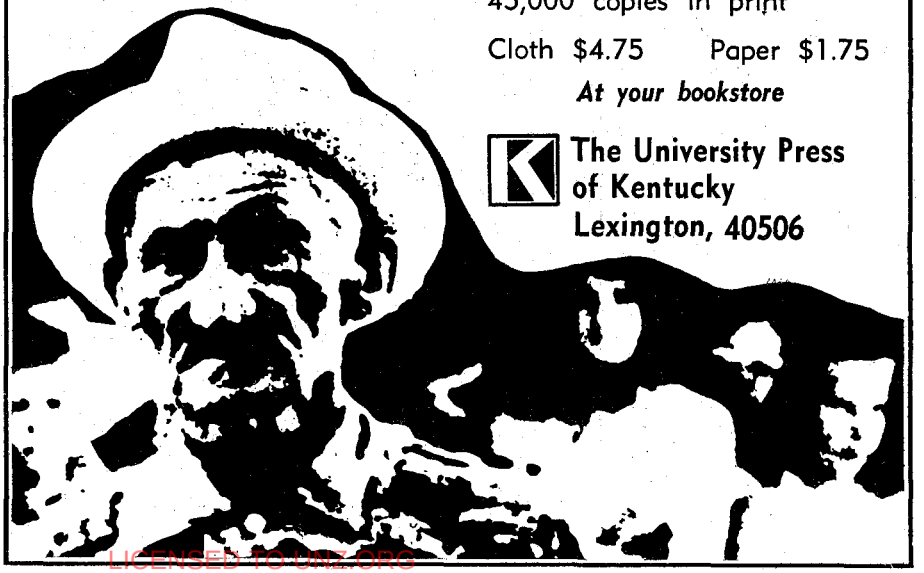

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the miracle of survival and victory over 100 million Arabs they no longer merit our sympathy.

Rabbi Benjamin Sharfman
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Sirs:

Amongst liberal Americans it is often quite difficult to discuss the many delicate issues of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. I have found that the first stumbling block is the failure to differentiate anti-Semitism from anti-Zionism. Judging from your editorial comments in the 24 January *New Republic* I am afraid that this problem is at the heart of your statement of support for the present Israeli government.

I hope that it is needless to resurrect the countless historical arguments claiming Zionist rights to Palestine. Let it suffice to say that the conflict over ownership began when questionably motivated British interests deeded land to the Jewish people; that this decision was made in London and not in Palestine is symbolic of the imperialistic interests in Israel since its conception.

At this point I am baffled by your stand. Condemning American imperialism is fine when it comes to Latin America and Southeast Asia, but somehow the Israeli situation is seen as different. I defy the reader to meaningfully distinguish Israel's micro-imperialism from that of South Africa; the rhetoric is very different, but the relationship of few to many, rich to poor, counter-violence to violence is painfully similar. To quote the Israeli General Sharon . . .: "We are not part of American imperialism, Israel will make its own empire."

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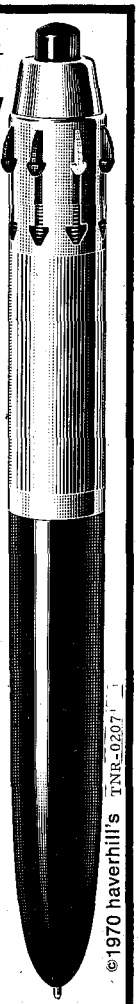

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Kauffmann, *from page 26*

thesis of which is in *Simon* and *The Milky Way*. His vision of religion is a Surrealist one.

The term "Surrealism" was first used by Guillaume Apollinaire in 1917, but the famous definition was made by André Breton in 1924. In the first of several manifestoes on the subject, Breton said: "I believe in the future resolution of the states of dream and reality, in appearance so contradictory, in a sort of absolute reality, or *surréalité*, if I may so call it." Buñuel was early associated with the Surrealist group in Paris. Salvador Dali collaborated on his first two films, *Un Chien Andalou* and *L'Age d'Or*. Buñuel's photograph is in a Max Ernst collage of members of the group (1930), and the cool razor-eyeball sadism of Buñuel's first film is antedated by the cool finger-piercing of Ernst's painting *Oedipus Rex* done in 1922. (Ernst himself is in *L'Age d'Or*.) Today Buñuel's Surrealist view rests on a more sophisticated and mature base than the juxtaposition of incongruous objects and acts. Dead donkeys on pianos or cows on beds no longer serve as adequate manifests of dream-reality. True, *The Milky Way* scrambles historical periods, refuses to explain how a priest can be inside and outside a bedroom at the same time, and has sweet little schoolgirls fulminating anathema, but these concretized fantasies do not exist merely to shock and stimulate and invigorate our protocols of vision. Underlying them is a *philosophic* vision that is itself Surrealist: a vision that lifts the history of the Church off the ground into one grand condensation and sustains it through an idea of faith that is larger than any pettifogging theological pedantry. Buñuel is no longer interested in extending consciousness through a series of visual puns and oxymorons, however cruelly scintillating, for which the scenario seems almost an afterthought and justification. With *The Milky Way* the process seems reversed. In his old age Buñuel has come back to Surrealism with greater purity, with a deeper perception of liberty through discipline. He has begun this picture with a very clear, almost programmatic dream reality, a surreal *conviction*, and the visual metaphors proceed firmly from it.

As the two tramps, Laurent Terzieff and Paul Frankeur are amiable and easy. Like many directors outside the United States, Buñuel has been able to use prominent and accomplished actors in quite small parts, which gives his film a fine-grained detail that is often lacking in American films. (And for those who know those actors' faces, it also provides another level of intra-cinema pleasure.) Some of the brief appearances: Michel Piccoli as the Marquis de Sade, Alain Cuny as a mysterious prophet, Pierre Clementi as the Devil, Claudio Brook (who played the title-role in *Simon*) as a bishop, Julien Guiomar as a country priest, and Delphine Seyrig as the prostitute.

I saw *The Milky Way* at a screening that was largely attended by Catholic religious, and I happened to sit next to two priests. When the film finished, Priest One turned to Priest Two and said, "Mad." Priest Two nodded and said, "Mad." I think that Buñuel, a lifelong heretic-devotee, would have been tickled.

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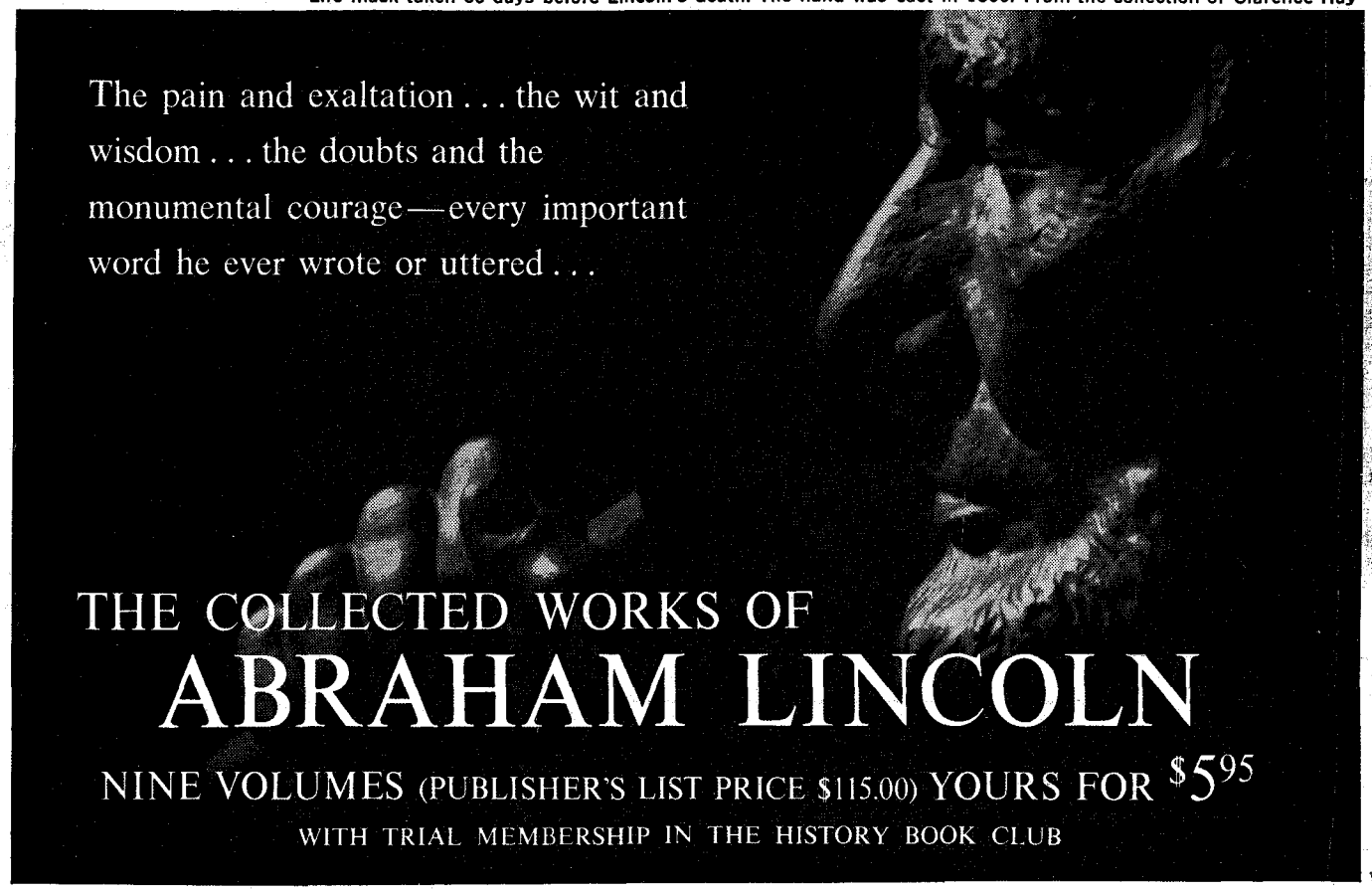

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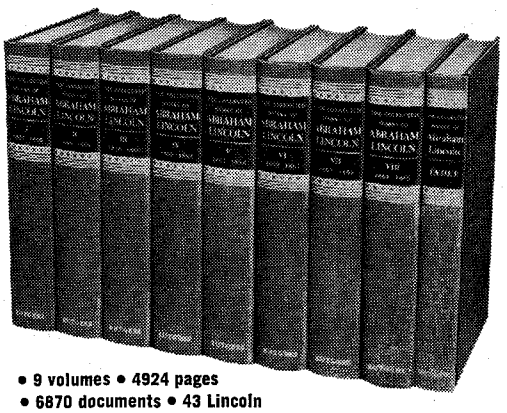

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